

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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YPSL Split in N.Y.

70 More Ousted by Altman

Right Drops 7 Branches

Bulletin

The Altmanite-controlled rump New York City Central Committee, at its meeting, Monday August 23rd, expelled seventy more left wing comrades, suspended the charters of four more branches, Village, Chelsea, 12th A. D., and Bensonhurst, and decided to reorganize a fifth, the 3rd A. D. branch (Bronx). Altman also reported his "victory" in the party referendum on the mayoralty elections—a victory secured by the expulsion of left wingers, suspension of branch charters, discounting ballots of those who refused to sign a loyalty oath; the procedure was so brazen that the Clarity members of the tellers' committee resigned in pretest and the committee was dissolved.

The Lower East Side, Upper West Side and 12th A. D. Bronx branches, were suspended on August 2, 1937.

Clarity Calls the Cops Ward Rodgers Hales California Left Wingers to Court

SAN FRANCISCO.—Repudiated by the overwhelming majority of the party membership in California, Ward Rodgers, "Commissar" appointed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to "take over" the California organization, has called the cops to his aid.

On August 21, he filed criminal charges against Glen Trimble, Al Furth, and an unknown number of other comrades who are members in good standing of Local San Francisco. The crime of the comrades who were thus called before the bar of the capitalist court consists simply in the fact that the San Francisco Local at its last meeting, by the vote of 19 to 1 adopted the following resolution:

"That Local San Francisco notify the National Office, Ward Rodgers and the State Secretary of the Socialist Party of California, Crary Trimble, that we will continue to operate in cooperation with the State Secretary and will refuse to recognize as au-

thoritative any communications from other parties under the Rodgers motion for suspension of the California State Charter. Inasmuch as this irresponsible and disruptive motion has been submitted to the judgment of the highest authority in the Socialist Party, the national membership through the initiation of a national referendum, no action under this motion is legal and none will be recognized."

The warrant against the comrades taken out by Rodgers, charges them with "theft and embezzlement" the said theft and embezzlement, presumably being the refusal of the local to turn over its records and "property" to "Commissar" Rodgers.

With this action, Rodgers and all who support him take on themselves the role of capitalist stool-pigeons, attempting to turn over the records and lists of the Socialist Party to a capitalist court, and to cause the imprisonment in the penitentiary of com-

rades against whom no iota of proof of disloyalty or even technical violation of Party decisions has been or can be presented.

So far as we know this is the first time in the history of the political labor movement in the United States that official representatives of a working class party have made criminal charges against party opponents. There are no words too strong to characterize such an attempt. Incidentally, this action means that instead of the "impartial" hearing by the specially appointed "investigating committee" of the National Executive Committee, scheduled for next Saturday and Sunday, they have moved up the hearing one day and will hold it in a capitalist court next Friday.

The accused comrades are procuring legal counsel and will fight the case in court on the same grounds that revolutionary workers always defend themselves against capitalist prosecutors and stool-pigeons.

11 Left Wing DEC Leaders Are Expelled

Acting in combination with the right wing, the Clarity caucus moved the expulsion of 11 left wingers at the August 20 meeting of the District Executive Committee of the New York Young Peoples Socialist League. Each of these 11, among whom were three members of the DEC, (Draper, Garrett, Herman) were charged with selling the Socialist Appeal. Similar charges were to be brought against every member of the Youth Appeal Association in New York.

After the vote, in which by pre-arrangement Clarity and the right wing united, the left wing members of the Committee arose and declared that by its illegal action, the DEC had ceased to be a legal body and become a body no longer representing the majority of the League membership. As representatives of the largest section of the New York YPSL, the left wing of the Committee constituted itself as a Provisional New York District Executive Committee which would function until such time as a new committee could be regularly elected. All circles and members have been informed that the Clarity right wing caucus DEC continues only in rump session, and that its decisions are not binding upon any member of the League.

Expelled on False Pretext

While the left wing has formally been charged with selling the Appeal, the motive for Clarity's disruption of the League are quite different. Legally, any member of the League or Party has every right to sell the Appeal. No less a right than the Militants had in the fight against the Old Guard to sell the Socialist Call; no less a right than Clarity has to sell its own fac-

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Spain's Unions Join Pact Against Stalinist Reaction

By Felix Morrow

A pact for united action, signed by the CNT National Committee and UGT National Executive, published on July 9, has been hailed with delirious joy by the masses of these two organizations, comprising at least four million workers and peasants. It is difficult to convey in a few words what great hopes the workers and agrarian masses put in the results of the agreement.

It is also difficult to convey the precise significance of the pact. The 12-point document decrees: (1) An end to violent attacks, differences to be argued cordially. (2) No union outside the two federations will be recognized or conceded rights. (3) Workers free to affiliate to either federation. (4) and (5) Neither will admit any affiliate expelled by the other for crime or violation of policy, nor will either permit entry of such affiliate into any union without mutual consultation. (6) Coercion of members or unions to join other organizations will be considered an act of disloyalty to the pact. (7) Both pledge action against unions which refuse to carry out agreements adopted. (8) A contact committee of three each will meet at least weekly, and create in all

localities contact committees of the locals. (9) Local controversies to be settled by the national contact committee. (10) The National contact committee will propose to the UGT and CNT executives the sanctions to be imposed on locals violating the agreement. (11) Decisions taken to be valid shall be signed by the two national committees. (12) National contact committee will propose to the two organisms policies to be adopted.

(1) is directed against the Stalinist-controlled locals and the Regional UGT "Central Committee" of Catalonia, which have been attempting to create a pogrom spirit against the CNT. (2) aims against such "unions" as the GEPCI (Federation of Small Commercial and Industrial Businessmen), given regional affiliation by the Catalan Stalinists but refused affiliation by the UGT National Committee because it violates the UGT statutes limiting affiliation to workers and peasants; and is also a blow at the Kulak "unions" created by the Stalinists but refused admittance into the two big agricultural unions affiliated to UGT and CNT. (3) and (6) seek to put an end to the infamous hooligan methods employed by the

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Removed Satir As Labor Secy. In Cook County

By Albert Glotzer

CHICAGO.—The August 16th meeting of the County Central Committee witnessed the first shot in the campaign of the Clarity Group against the left wing here. Where under ordinary circumstances we were able to obtain a majority in the CCC by default (the absence of the representatives of the language

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ArmChinese Mass, Only War Hope

By Lo Sen

When Japanese imperialism moved into North China six weeks ago, Gen. Sun Cheh-yuan, the Nanking Government's representative in Peiping, unconditionally accepted all the conditions posed by the invaders. He agreed to the withdrawal of all Chinese forces from the Peiping

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Notice to Yipsel Delegates

All left wing delegates to the YPSL National Convention are hereby notified that the left wing conference will meet in Philadelphia, September 1, at 431 Pine Street. Delegates and visitors should register at the same address as soon as they arrive, beginning with August 30. If any delegate plans to arrive in Philadelphia or New York before then, he should immediately notify M. Garrett, Room 731, 41 Union Sq., New York City.

NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE CALLED

An emergency conference of Local New York called by the suspended left wing branches in the city will be held this Saturday August 28, at 2 P. M. at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and 2nd Avenue.

Called "in view of the drive of the right wing, operating in violation of the party constitution through an illegally constituted City Central Committee, to split the party by expelling left wing branches and members, in order to facilitate the sell-out to La Guardia", the conference will create an organization set-up which will be able to carry on an effective revolutionary fight in the city.

Each party branch is entitled to one delegate for every ten members or major fraction thereof. In branches where the majority is composed of "LaGuardia socialists" and therefore declines to participate in the conference, the revolutionary minority is invited to send delegates on the same proportional basis.

The signatories to the call are the Lower East Side Branch, the Upper West Side Branch, 7th A. D. Branch (Bronx), 12th A. D. Branch (Manhattan). The Conference is open to all party and YPSL members.

The "Appeal" Is Your Paper-Support It!

The Socialist Appeal was launched to popularize the fight of all militant socialists for a genuinely revolutionary Socialist Party and against the right wing combination that is working with might and main to reduce the SP to a tail of the People's

Front—that is, to wipe it out as an independent factor.

The paper has been started as the organ of the left wing branches of the SP in New York. But it is in fact the mouthpiece of every left wing, revolutionary socialist throughout the country.

It asks for and deserves the most energetic and liberal support of all its friends. We are determined to spare no effort to keep it alive as a weekly publication, devoted to the news and the viewpoint of the left wing in its struggle and to the popularization of the ideas or revolutionary Marxism in this country. The New York comrades cannot shoulder the burden by themselves. The struggle is national and should be supported nationally.

This means:

First: generous contributions of money from the comrades everywhere—regular contributions to insure the Appeal's appearance.

Second: rushing in your bundle orders, distributing and selling the paper everywhere, and paying your accounts promptly.

Third: canvassing every militant worker for a subscription to the Appeal. The rates are: \$2.00 per year (52 issues) or \$1.00 for 6 months (26 issues). The individual copies are 5 cents each, or 3 cents per copy in bundle orders of 5 or more.

Shoot in your subs and bundle orders! Send all communications and contributions to the Socialist Appeal, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

This is your fight—help make it your victory! Support the left wing press!

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ArmChina Mass, Only War Hope

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Tientsin area and actually forced some of the units under his command to evacuate their positions. The Nanking Government, as its ambassador in London admitted on July 26, acceded to this settlement, hiding its capitulation behind a refusal to accord "formal" recognition to any local arrangement.

The resistance of the 29th army soldiers to the orders of their own commanders and the revolt of the supposedly pro-Japanese Chinese militia at Tungchow, however, convinced the Japanese imperialists that they could not reliably depend on any Chinese forces. So they moved in with men, planes and tanks and took over Peiping and Tientsin themselves. Abandoned by Nanking and by their own officers, the soldiers of the 29th army put up an heroic but futile resistance. They were smashed by the enemy in a week.

Japan Refuses Partial Surrender

When ten days ago Japan, pursuing its advantage, struck in full force at Shanghai and in the Yangtze Delta, Chiang Kai-shek again left the door wide open to a settlement, reaffirming his readiness to come to terms with Tokyo so long as it would agree to recognize the nominal sovereignty of the Nanking regime. But Japanese imperialism soon signified its unwillingness to accept another partial surrender along the lines of those which enabled the Nanking regime to give up Manchuria and Jehol and half of Chahar. It proceeded with the attack on Shanghai. It dispatched loaded transports southward and is distributing its entire fleet along the China coast preparatory to the proclamation of a blockade. Japanese planes are systematically bombing Nanking and points far inland in an attempt to destroy military and aviation bases. At Shanghai a decisive battle is being waged in an attempt to impose the will of Japanese imperialism once and for all on the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Here Chiang Kai-shek has been compelled to make a stand against the invaders in defense of the right of the Chinese bourgeoisie to exploit the Chinese masses. But all the channels for an agreement with Tokyo remain open. The Japanese demonstra-

tively withdrew their diplomatic representative from Nanking, but the Chinese ambassador remains at Tokyo and Nanking has not yet asked the Japanese ambassador, now stationed in Shanghai, to leave. Nanking has refrained from taking any irrevocable steps, such as the open rupture of economic and diplomatic relations or a genuine mobilization for war. To the representatives of the Powers at Shanghai, Nanking's spokesmen have repeatedly proclaimed their readiness to negotiate for peace, if only Japan will desist from its attack.

Tokyo's Calculations

Tokyo's calculations are clear. It has openly declared that negotiations are out of the question until a defeat has been inflicted on the Nanking government. It must inflict that defeat quickly and decisively, or else it is lost. Temporizing in long and slow negotiations is no longer possible for Japanese imperialism. Nanking's hopes are no less clear. It was ready to surrender North China, and it is still ready to do so. Resistance to the Japanese is being offered at the Yanktze Delta to the extent necessary to draw terms from Japan or to encourage Anglo-American intervention, at least in the form of pressure for the conclusion of a truce.

These hopes are slim. Convinced that the internal crisis in the Soviet Union and the complete preoccupation of the Great Powers with the crisis in Europe leaves it for the moment with a free hand, Japanese imperialism is obviously driving forward this time toward the complete subjugation of China. In any case this much is clear—if the resistance is left up to the Chinese bourgeoisie alone, all past experience teaches that the end will only be a new capitulation, a new betrayal. Nanking, despite the advance guarantees of the Stalinists of the abandonment of all revolutionary activity, will never dare arouse the masses and arm them. It knows only too well that such measures dictate its own ruin. Yet the armed masses, fighting in their own interests and under their own banner, for the land and for an end to all exploitation, are the only force capable of waging a consistent and victorious struggle against the Japanese imperial-

ists, just as in Spain today only the armed workers and peasants, flying the banners of revolution, can guarantee the final victory over the Fascist.

Mobilize the Masses

The efforts of all revolutionists in China and abroad must be directed toward precisely this independent mobilization of the masses. Above all, the American workers must intervene directly in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. cargoes destined for the Japanese military machine must be immobilized. That is the key task here. Let the slogan be raised for the seamen and longshoremen on the West Coast, particularly: "Not a ship, not a ton of cargo for Japanese imperialism!" The powerful organizations of the maritime workers have it in their power in this country to strike a mortal blow at Japan's imperialist drive in China.

When the Stalinist party today calls upon the government at Washington to invoke the "Nine-Power Pact" they line themselves up with the drive toward the future war of American against Japanese imperialism. With this the working class has nothing in common. Against this the working class must pit all its forces or else again become cannon fodder "to make the world safe against the Mikado".

No, we must intervene in our own way in support of the Chinese struggle against the Japanese imperialist invasion, without identifying ourselves or our action for a moment with the imperialist interests of "our own" government. Working class action in the post-war years paralyzed the inter-allied intervention against the October Revolution. Lack of working class action and resort to fruitless and treacherous appeals to the "democratic" Powers and the League of Nations delivered Ethiopia into the maw of the Italian Fascists and is helping to strangle the struggle of the workers and peasants of Spain in their struggle against Fascism. Our forces are gigantic, if only we will have faith in them, boldly raise our own banners and act without and against the class enemy!

In China the revolutionists, united today under the banner of the Fourth International in the Communist League of China, will participate to the fullest extent in the direct struggle against Japanese imperialism. They will strive to mobilize the workers in their own party and under their own banner, and to arouse the peasants in the vast hinterland for the real struggle against imperialism and its agents, the struggle for the land.

What Was Done In Scottsboro?

There is no principle more firmly established among class-conscious workers than the labor defense principle of uncompromising defense of class-struggle victims. Rally the masses against legal lynching! Fight for the unconditional freedom of the Scottsboro boys! No collaboration with Jim Crow elements! No deals with the prosecution!

When the Scottsboro Defense Committee was formed, with the participation of Norman Thomas and the League for Industrial Democracy, the program of the Committee gave a blank check to Samuel Liebowitz. The Committee rejected the proposals of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for a class-struggle policy.

The inevitable happened; Liebowitz made a deal with the prosecution. He himself—for in his underworld code of ethics such a deal was permissible—told the story at the New York meeting to welcome the Scottsboro boys. Norman Thomas spoke too, and by his silence gave assent to the deal.

The original deal, agreed to last December, is described as follows by Morris Shapiro, secretary of the Scottsboro committee and a member of Norman Thomas' faction in the party: "At a meeting in the New Yorker Hotel Mr. Liebowitz and (Alabama Attorney General) Carmichael agreed that Patterson's seventy-five-year sentence should be commuted to five years, that four of the Negroes should get off with five-year sentences if they would plead to charges of simple assault, and that the remaining four—the same ones who now have been given their freedom—should go scot-free." (The Nation, August 14, 1937).

Shapiro, who speaks for Thomas in Scottsboro work, tells this story of an agreement for four defendants to plead guilty,

Forward for the struggle against imperialism, but no confidence or support to the Kuomintang government, the government of the white terror, the government of the betrayers and the exploiters!

Forward to the organization of a proletarian party, of trade unions and peasant associations! For the convocation of a National Assembly in China, elected by universal suffrage!

Not a ship, not a ton of cargo for Japanese imperialism!

as if it were the most sensible idea in the world! That means that the Scottsboro Defense Committee agreed to it. For months after the agreement was made, there was no Scottsboro defense campaign. Then Judge Callahan, according to the story, refused to abide by the deal.

But was that the end of the deal? We doubt it. For Liebowitz then did, what the Scottsboro Committee had promised would never happen. He advised Ozie Powell—who, under the unbearable provocations of a brutal deputy had fought back, had been shot, and separately indicted for attacking the deputy—to plead guilty of assault with intent to kill!

This crime against the Scottsboro boys, against the principles of labor defense, has been condoned by the Scottsboro Defense Committee, by the Stalinists, etc., no to forget the silence of the Socialist Call.

Satir Removed In Cook Country

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branches for more than a year and a half), last night the Clarity leaders made the round-up. With the representatives of the numerous Jugoslav branches present they had a majority.

Utilizing this majority they proceeded to upset the actions of the CCC meeting of July on technical grounds of an extremely tenuous kind. McDowell, the "constitutional expert" falsely interpreted the local constitution as requiring a semi-annual election of delegates to the CCC (it called only for a reapportionment), moved to reconsider the actions of the July meeting on the ground that the meeting was illegal. The real reason for his action lay in the fact that the July meeting elected Satir to the County Central Executive Committee in place of Ben Fisher who is now in Detroit. Utilizing an old agreement made at the time of the elections to the CEC, the Clarity group demanded that Satir first decline in favor of McDowell on the ground that he represented the same tendency as Fisher and should replace him. This proposal Satir correctly rejected and because he did so and ran and was elected, the Clarity group determined to "show him a lesson".

Spain's Unions in Pact against Stalinists

Syndicalist and Socialist Centers Join Hands to Halt C.P. Reactionary Drive

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Stalinists to force CNT members into Stalinist locals and the C.P. The rest implements these ends.

Blow at Stalinists

On the day this pact was published, the UGT National Executive took a number of important steps to carry it out. Claridad of Madrid (once Caballero's organ, but seized by the Stalinists at the end of April) and Las Noticias of Barcelona were declared no longer official organs of the UGT. Even more significant was the decision to superintend the incorporation into their respective National Unions in each industry, of the "regional federations" of Catalonia, and to call a Regional Congress in Catalonia at which only unions affiliated to the UGT would be admitted.

If these decisions are carried out, the fraudulent claim of the Stalinists to represent great masses in the trade unions will be effectively exposed. The tiny organization of the UGT existing in Catalonia at the beginning of the civil war, had been captured by the Stalinists and, since then, run regionally as a completely independent entity. The influx of the masses into the unions had been brazenly channelized into the regional set-up controlled by the Stalinists. The big organization of the railroad workers of Catalonia, for example, was controlled, not by the UGT National Federation of Railroad Workers, but the Stalinist Regional Committee! Stalinist control was maintained by two simple bureaucratic devices: the GEPCI, which quickly included in its ranks all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, was given proportional representation on the Regional Committee, as were the highly-conservative unions of government functionaries created after the civil war began; and, for the rest, the Stalinists simply refused to call a regional congress at which the unions could speak for themselves. In the name of the UGT, Las Noticias had called for the liquidation of the POUM, the arrest of the workers who had defended themselves May 3-7, intervention of the Generalidad in the factories, etc. If Caballero really carries out the decisions of July 29, Stalinism will suffer a tremendous defeat in Catalonia.

Stalinists Assail Pact

Mundo Obrero, chief Stalinist organ, bitterly attacked the UGT-CNT pact. (Abroad, however, where the Stalinists have been claiming control of the UGT, they hailed the move to unity!) Mundo Obrero particularly denounced the failure of the pact to include a pledge of support of the Negrin government.

The pact's blows against the bourgeois-Stalinist bloc, the attacks on it of the Stalinists, must not blind us to the two major defects of the agreement:

1. The program of action does not include a provision for defending the anti-fascist political prisoners, although both the CNT and left socialist press call for their defense. It includes no proposal to struggle against the vicious political censorship of the labor press, although both organizations suffer from it. It includes no agreement for protecting the centers and collectives of the two organizations against bourgeois-Stalinist repressions. It includes no protest against the decrees prohibiting armed police forces from joining trade unions, or those disarming the workers.

It does not protest the corrupting practice of separating the officers from the ranks of the soldiers by a system of unequal wages and rankings. Nor—and this is a burning necessity as inflation increases—does it demand trade union control of prices and distribution of food. In other words, the most pressing immediate needs of the workers are not included in the CNT-UGT program of action. It becomes a primary duty of the revolutionists in both organizations to demand inclusion of these points in the program.

Unity Machinery Weak

2. The apparatus established to carry out the pact is hopelessly narrow and weak. The national contact committee is ridiculously small and limited to purely advisory capacities. Likewise the local contact committee are so completely subordinated to the national set-up as to be deprived of all initiative. A really serious attempt at united action of the proletariat must send roots into every factory, village and regiment of UGT-CNT members. Moreover, the organized workers must take the lead in drawing into the united movement the many millions of workers and peasants still unaffiliated; and this can only be done by providing for their participation in electing the contact committees. This means that the contact committees must be democratically elected by all the workers in each factory, village and regiment. There is no other effective method for uniting the deepest layers of the masses with the advance guard. These democratically elected contact committees, linked together in local, regional and a national council, would so indubitably represent the masses, that the Stalinists could go against them only at the cost of losing the allegiance of such workers and peasants as the Stalinists' ranks include. The network of contact committees would put an end to the repressions and the counter-revolutionary schemes of the bourgeoisie, as the present weak apparatus of the united front cannot.

The anarchist and socialist prejudices against this really comprehensive form of united front of the proletariat must be overcome by the determined and persuasive propaganda of the revolutionary elements. Here is the basic task of the genuine revolutionist! Beginning as instruments for defending the immediate interests of the workers, the democratic organs of the united front become the arena in which revolution and reform contend for the leadership of the masses; and, when the revolutionists prevail, become the organs of power and the foundations of the workers' state.

In these possibilities, rather than in its present program and structure, is the real significance of the UGT-CNT pact. Bourgeois-Stalinist hostility, already expressed, will intensify all the more, if the united front tends to develop the form of soviets. But in unity the workers will find the strength to repel repression and gather the workers and peasants in a single democratic structure.

Consistent Party Lacking

One thing is still lacking: the organized revolutionary force which will, single-mindedly, tirelessly, fight to open this road and clear it of all obstructions.

As always, so now in Spain, the problem of the revolution is the problem of the revolutionary party. But a year of civil war, in which every day has concentrated the lessons of months and even years, has crystallized the forces for the new party. The left wing of the POUM, which includes the majority in Barcelona and Madrid, stands on the program of soviets and workers' state power. The "Friends of Durruti", left wing in the CNT-FAI, persecuted by the government and disowned by the CNT, stands on a similar program. It is axiomatic that Caballero's new-found boldness must reflect a far deeper and more stable leftward swing in his ranks. Founded only a few months ago, the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the Fourth International, despite outlawry by the government, is finding roots in the masses. In the day by day struggle for the immediate needs of the workers, these revolutionary forces can be welded together into the party of revolution.

An extremely encouraging development is the growing volume of protest in the CNT press, and also in the left socialist organs, against the arrests of workers, particularly against the arrests of the POUM leaders. The protest campaign, unfortunately, got under way very slowly. Nin was arrested on June 15, his comrades in widespread raids during the following week; and on June 23 the government decreed the semi-fascist legal procedure under which they were to be tried: all anti-governmental activity is defined as espionage, to be prosecuted before Special Tribunals of civil and military judges chosen by the Ministers of Defense and Justice, in secret sessions! Apart from assigning their attorney, Pabon, to the defense, the CNT did almost nothing for nearly a month. Finally the National Committee of the CNT formally undertook their defense, and Federica Montseny, ex-cabinet minister, gave to the masses the first inkling of Nin's fate in a mass-meeting speech in which she charged he had been murdered by the Stalinists.

CNT Press Protests Frame-Up

The trials against the POUM are the touchstone of the character of the government, declares the anarchist press. CNT of Madrid (July 29) declares:

"We must begin by saying that we believe and will continue to believe them to be revolutionaries, men like Nin, Andrade, Rovira, Arguer, etc., who for so many years have demonstrated before the Spanish proletariat that they know how to fight worthily for the interests of the workingclass. We will continue believing in their rectitude and in their political decency, in the same way that we believe in the spiritual grandeur of Francisco Ferrer, in spite of an enormous pile of legal folios by which the Bourbon monarchy presented him as an enemy of Spain and an evil monster."

The censorship, of course, prevented publication of the story of the lynching of Andres Nin. The anarchist press has, as a substitute, taken to pointedly asking the government: "Where is Andres Nin?"

"The fact that the POUM could mobilize in Catalonia alone ten thousand fighters against fascism was no obstacle to their being called 'fascist advance

guard' by the perennial factionalists," says CNT. It sardonically contrasts the fact that fascist officers were tried by the Popular Tribunals, while the POUM prisoners are to be tried under the decree of June 23. The anarchists recall Nin's three decades of service to the proletariat, beginning as a CNT leader; Gorkin and Andrade's twenty and more years, founders of the Comintern; David Rey's thirty years in the movement, ten spent in the prisons of the monarchy and republic, the eleventh in the prison of the present government, etc.

The defense campaign has had one immediate consequence. On July 30, the Ministry of Justice announced that the anti-fascist prisoners would be brought together in one prison, segregated from the fascist prisoners. Until then revolutionary leaders were put in the same cells with fascist officers! Does this change mean that the government is going to retreat from its previously avowed intention to try Andrade, Gorkin, and Rey together with a Falangist? Certainly, the official admission of the distinction between anti-fascist prisoners and the rest is an important concession.

The speed of political developments in Spain is truly extraordinary. Only three months ago, on May 17, ousting the UGT and CNT, the bourgeois-Prieto-Stalinist bloc took the reins of government. The Negrin cabinet seemed to be the "strong" power which would, once for all, liquidate the last vestige of the conquests of July 19th, break the backbone of the labor movement, re-establish completely the bourgeois order, and having thus reassured Anglo-French imperialism, secure from them sufficient material and diplomatic support to force an armistice, out of which would issue united bourgeois republic. The Negrin government seemed well on its way to this end when it succeeded in outlawing the POUM, kicking the CNT out of the Catalan government, arresting hundreds of key militants, establishing rigid police control of Catalonia, foisting its officers on the militias, establishing a minute political censorship on the CNT and UGT press. The CNT and UGT put up little opposition to their expulsion from the government and the ensuing reactionary steps; apparently they were paralyzed by the hope that the Negrin cabinet would succeed in getting the help from the "great democracies" which had been denied to the Caballero government, and that it would, consequently, carry on the war more successfully than its predecessor.

Negrin Cabinet Shows Incompetence

But three months of the Negrin cabinet have demonstrated its incapacity to carry on the war. The "great democracies" continue to collaborate with the Italo-German bloc in depriving anti-fascist Spain of arms. They will aid the loyalist side only when the loyalist side becomes almost indistinguishable from Franco in its class character. They fear the effect of victories upon the morale of the workers and peasants. Even more important, the Negrin government has proved unable to utilize the materials and man power at its disposal. As it weeded out the proletarian officers and gave more and more power to the bourgeois bureaucracy and gen-

eral staff, more and more acts of sabotage and outright treachery occurred.

Bilbao fell intact into Franco's hands, though it is an elementary axiom of military science that well-armed troops cannot be driven from a city until its buildings are razed to the ground. The same thing has now happened to the manufacturing town of Reinos, key to Santander's defenses. The promised offensives on the Madrid, Teruel and Aragon fronts, to relieve Santander, have not materialized. The "government of victory" has failed even more miserably than its predecessor. In this lies the explanation for the new-found resurgence of CNT-UGT opposition.

The CNT press abounds in warnings against illusions about aid from England and France, although the CNT leaders have not entirely freed themselves from that illusion: the very manifesto of July 17 addressed to the world proletariat declaring, "For us, the revolutionaries of Spain, there is only one salvation: your aid", includes in its slogans one perfectly acceptable to the Stalinists: "Put pressure on your governments to adopt decisions favorable to our struggle." It is obvious that a single friendly gesture from France would cause the anarchists to revert to the illusions which have so undermined the prosecution of the war. Their present skepticism, however, drives them to demand intensified mobilization of the internal resources of Spain.

Araquistain "Disillusioned"

The same motives galvanize the Caballero forces. Luis Araquistain, Caballero's theoretician, writes in *Adelante* of Valencia, July 18: "We have counted too much, in illusion and hope, on the London [non-intervention] Committee; that is to say, on the aid of the European democracies. Now is the hour to realize that we can expect nothing decisive from them in our favor, and from one of them much against us, at the least. On this conception we must base our foreign policy." To realize how new his language is to Araquistain, one must read again the statements which he made, as Ambassador to France, until the middle of May. Then he expected not only Anglo-French aid, but amicable collaboration with Italy.

Interviewed by *Le Petit Journal* at the beginning of April, Araquistain said: "Mussolini, who is a thorough realist not frightened by words, should not be frightened by fantasies such as that of a Bolshevik utopia in Spain... He has forgotten that there is no reason to suppose that republican Spain after the war would adopt toward Italy a policy different from that prior to the war." "The arts of peace, of diplomacy, are methods of international attraction which work to better advantage than war."

Araquistain trusted that Mussolini "would quickly overcome the bitterness" produced by the Guadalajara defeat. In three months, however, events have driven Araquistain to a more realistic position. That he and Caballero will maintain it, one may be permitted to doubt, considering their record. But revolutionaries can utilize it as a point of departure from which to win the masses for a consistently revolutionary prosecution of the war against fascism.

Who Is Back of F.H. LaGuardia?

The Capitalist Forces Behind the Candidate of the New York People's Front

How did LaGuardia get to be Mayor of New York? Who backed his candidacy? What interests put him into office, confident that he would represent them faithfully as the city's chief executive? These are questions that are never raised by the Browder-Thomas-ALP-Republican Party directorate that has formed the LaGuardia People's Front. Nevertheless, the answers to them are of profound weight to every worker in New York City. And it is possible to give the answers with exactness and precision.

New York's Big Business

First of all, it must be realized that New York City is one of the largest "businesses" in the world. Its regular budget is in the neighborhood of \$600,000,000 yearly. This figure, enormous as it is, includes only a part of its expenditures, for many of them, such as "capital improvements", unemployed relief, subways, water works, etc., are classified as non-budgetary. The expenditures far exceed those of any State in the Union (including New York State), and are in fact surpassed only by the greatest of the imperialist nations. The public debt of New York City runs into several billions of dollars, and it likewise is exceeded only by that of the chief imperialist nations. The number of New York City employees is greater than that of the soldiers in the United States regular army. The police force alone is over 20,000.

There are two key features in the financing of this mighty "business". In the first place, the overwhelming bulk of the normal income of the city is raised from the tax on real estate. Indeed, when the regular budget is drawn up, the rate of the real estate taxation is determined by the simple process of dividing the assessed valuation of all real property into the budgeted figure for expenditures. Secondly, capital funds for the city, together with funds to meet budgetary deficiencies (which occur every year, because of the peculiarities of the city's system of budgeting), to cover tax delinquencies, and to provide cash for current outlays in anticipation of tax collections, are obtained by the sale of city bonds and corporate stock. Much the greatest part of the bonds and stock is sold not to private investors but to the banks, particularly to the great New York banks. Every one of the large New York banks carries tens of millions of dollars of New York City securities in its portfolio.

The Budget Question

From these two key features, two important consequences follow: First, it is of major concern to the real estate operators to keep the budget of New York City down to the lowest possible figure, since every increase in the budget is automatically followed by a relative increase in the rate of real estate taxation. (Of course, in the long run much of the increased rate of taxation is passed on to tenants; but many of the tenants in New York are big corporations, and in any case passing the burden on is a drawn-out process which interferes at least temporarily and sometimes permanently with the profits from real estate operation). Secondly, the affairs of the big New York banks are inextricably tied up with the city's finances because of their heavy holdings in city bonds and stock. This is true in a double sense: On the one hand, since the big banks are the only

market for city securities, they milk the city by demanding, and getting, an unusually high rate of interest, and thereby making their financing of the city an extremely profitable investment for themselves. But, on the other hand, they must take care that the bonds and stock of the city are properly secured and financed—that the city does not go bankrupt—for a deterioration of the city's securities would have disastrous effects on the banks' own condition.

During the boom years, there was plenty of money in New York. The graft and inefficiency and generosity of Tammany, solidly in control of the city, was not felt deeply, and no one thought much about "civic reform" and "good government". But the heavy hand of the crisis and subsequent depression began to make itself increasingly felt.

Above all, so far as the "business" of the New York City was concerned, it was felt by the real estate operators and the big banks. The reasons for this are easy to understand. The real estate operators were faced by declining and disappearing rents and profits, by empty and half-empty buildings, by the collapse of real estate speculation; but the rate of real estate taxation,

By James Burnham

far from declining, continued up with the still rising city budget. The real estate operators were thus in the middle of a fatal squeeze which, in fact, sent many of them into bankruptcy. The banks, on their side, were compelled to take up greater and greater amounts of city securities (to cover increasing tax delinquencies and budgetary deficiencies, as well as continuing capital expenditures) at the same time that the credit of the city was falling, with the resulting fall in the market prices of city securities and the threat of possible defaults in interest payment—both of which in turn undermined the banks' own credit.

The LaGuardia Administration was conceived and born out of this background. The large real estate operators and the big banks took the leadership in the decision that Tammany had to go; that "good government" had to be introduced; that the budget had to be lowered (which meant necessarily the lowering of salaries and wages, the only item capable of any considerable reduction—it of course did not occur to the banks to advocate lowering the nearly two hundred millions of dollars of yearly in-

terest payments); that an "efficient" Executive had to be put in.

The campaign of the banks and real estate operators was carefully and systematically planned. It was they, of course, who brought about the "Seabury investigations", designed to discredit publicly Walker and Tammany in general. Seabury himself represents as attorney a number of the largest corporations. At the conclusion of the investigations, he "declined" to accept any fee, though it was offered to him, for what he said was a purely altruistic "public service". It is reported that within two weeks after the investigations closed, his law office had more than a dozen new corporate accounts.

The real estate operators worked especially through the so-called Citizens' Budget Commission. This Commission, headed by an able publicist named Peter Grimm, was financed by "voluntary contributions" from those devoted to the "public welfare". The great majority of these contributions came—as the Commission itself will admit—from the real estate operators. The Commission acted as a pressure group, for "economy" and "efficiency" in the City Administra-

tion, both in general publicity, and at the Board of Estimate meeting where, in accordance with the City Charter, all bills must be aired in a public hearing before they can be passed. For several years, there was not a single public meeting of the Board of Estimate from which Grimm or his associates were absent.

Banks Apply Pressure

Meanwhile the banks applied their own pressure in their own way. They steadily raised the interest rates at which they would lend money to the Tammany Administration. They enlisted all their big customers in the "reform movement". Finally, when a large sum for a "revolving fund" became necessary in order to meet current expenditures including many wage and salary payments, the banks absolutely refused to make an agreement with the Administration.

At the same time, Tammany had still further discredited itself through the year's Administration of the utterly stupid and incompetent O'Brien and Tammany's brazen error in re-nominating O'Brien, and had not yet healed the breach with the Catholic hierarchy which had grown up at the time of Walker's public marital scandal.

The scene was ripe. Everything was set for a fusion movement, under slogans of "good government" and "end Tammany corruption" which would remodel the City Administration more completely in the image of the banks and real estate operators. The Fusion Party was formed. LaGuardia was nominated. Peter Grimm was prominent as toastmaster and leading speaker at banquets and rallies in the campaign. The Union League Club, with its might roster of wealthy Republicans, got behind the movement. The directors of the two great banking groups—the "Morgan" banks headed by the Guaranty Trust Company, and the "Rockefeller" banks headed by the Chase National Bank—joined in almost to a man. Throughout the city, the "respectable citizens" took the stump, in public and in private, for LaGuardia. Many of the machine politicians of the Republican Party were disgruntled: for years they had been quite content to remain as a minority group in the city, because of the patronage deals which Tammany had always arranged with them. But they were overcome by the social power and prestige of the LaGuardia backers.

Unity At Last!

The respectable citizens succeeded. And they were not slow in showing their delight. Within a few weeks, the Banker's Agreement, refused to Tammany, was signed with LaGuardia. The city securities went up more than ten per cent in market price. The budget was slashed heavily and more heavily, with dismissals and wage reductions. The Citizens' Budget Commission no longer appeared to disrupt public Board of Estimate meetings—it now met beforehand, in confidential session, with the members of the Administration. LaGuardia began and successfully pushed through his drive for that favorite of the bankers, the City sales Tax. The directors of the Guaranty Trust and the Chase sat back again in the Union League Club, with a long toast to good government and LaGuardia Socialism.

Ask Aid of Yipsels in New York Fight

To all Circles:

To all members:

Dear comrades—

By the action of the rightwing—Clarity combination in moving the expulsion of eleven members of the Appeal Association in the New York League, with charges against others held in absence for one week, the New York District Executive Committee has ceased to exist as a legal body. In solidarity with those whom Clarity sought to expel, the left wing members of the former DEC, who represent the largest section of the League membership, have constituted themselves as a Provisional DEC. This Provisional Committee will function until arrangements can be made for the election of a regular committee.

To Disregard Rump DEC

All circles are hereby informed that the Clarity-right wing membership of the former DEC, if it continues in session as a DEC, is to be considered as meeting in rump session. By taking illegal action against the left wing, the former DEC, which in its actions and majority has ceased to represent the League membership, can no longer sit as the legitimate leadership of the League. The Provisional Committee, composed of comrades who received the greatest number of votes in the last elections and who have behind them the decisive majority of the League membership, informs all members and circles that they are to disregard any instructions forwarded to them by the rump Clarity-right wing DEC. It further informs all members that a general membership meeting of the League will be held Thursday, August 26, at Stuyvesant Casino, at which the Provisional Committee will submit its actions for approval.

All circles are instructed to hereafter turn over all finances and reports to the Provisional Committee. The P. C. is informed of all elections for national convention delegates in order that it may provide the cir-

cle with election supervisors. Where a majority in any particular circle, in support of the right wing-Clarity bloc, refuses to recognize the decisions authority of the P. C., the minority is instructed to constitute itself as a functioning group, to elect delegates and to otherwise function as a circle. Circles are likewise instructed to send fraternal delegates to the conference of left wing party branches, called for August 28, on the basis of one for every 10 members or fraction thereof.

Split Created by Right-Center Bloc

These actions are taken by the left wing comrades of the former DEC as the sole means whereby our League of revolutionary young socialists may be preserved from disintegration and capitulation to the political agents of Stalinism. Were these comrades to have acted otherwise in the face of the right wing Clarity expulsion drive, they would have betrayed the trust which the majority of militants in our League entrusted to them. When at the DEC meeting of August 20, the right wing-Clarity bloc voted the expulsion of eleven left wingers, and announced that all members of the Appeal group were to be similarly expelled, it created a thoroughgoing split in the organization. Revolutionary militants on the one side. Right wing-centerist capitulators on the other.

This attempt at expulsion, taken less than two weeks before the national convention, was designed to keep formal control of the League in the hands of this bloc. The Clarity caucus had cast about for a pretext whereby to effect a mass expulsion, and fixed upon the charge of selling the Socialist Appeal, which the comrades do not deny for they have every right to do so. This action is only the culmination of a series of illegal acts executed by the Clarity-right wing majority of the DEC, each more flagrant than the preceding one. There was:

1) The dropping of the four

Yipsels, rejected by the Altman-controlled party, in violation of a long since established League precedent that Yipsels rejected by the Party are not to be dropped until appeal had been made to and settled by the higher party bodies.

2) The expulsion of comrade Bergner from the YPSL with no quorum presented at the DEC, and before his hearings were ended.

3) The falsification of League records by Irving Barshop, so as to gerrymander the national convention.

4) The rescinding of a referendum on the four rejected Yipsels, though the referendum had been duly ordered by one-third of the DEC, as per the Constitution.

And now, to climax the complete disregard for League democracy, and all socialist precedent, the attempted mass expulsion of over one half of the N. Y. League.

Clarity Imitates Old Guard

The charge of selling the Socialist Appeal collapses in the light of previous experiences in the Party. In the fight against the Old Guard, months before branches were suspended or charters lifted, the Militants published the Socialist Call as a public organ, attacking the Old Guard as anti-organizational and splitters. It was not the official organ of either the N. Y. Local or the national Party. It appeared as a public faction organ, calling itself an organ of Militant Socialism. Today, after mass expulsion have begun, after the leaders of the national organization have openly announced their support of the split drive, the left wing has decided to publish the Socialist Appeal. Need it be added that the Socialist Call is now a faction organ of the Clarity caucus? The Socialist Appeal proves that the voice of revolutionary socialism cannot be stifled either by the Old Guard, or the new Old Guard.

The Clarity mass expulsion drive means that the mass ex-

(Continued on page 5)

The Trial of the Dantzig Trotskyists

How the Fascist Prosecutor Follows in the Footsteps of Stalin and Vyshinsky

Twelve days before the trial of fake "Trotskyists" in Moscow—Piatakov, Radek et al.—the Fascists in Danzig held a trial of genuine Trotskyists—Dr. Jakubowski and nine of his associates. The grandiose Moscow trial, which staggered the whole world, naturally distracted attention away from the Danzig trial. The great world press reported almost nothing about the manner in which the Gestapo (German Secret Police) legally disposed of the Danzig revolutionists. Meanwhile, the Danzig trial is well worth noticing for itself as well as for the light it casts upon the Moscow trial, or rather, for the glaring exposure of the latter.

The Fascist Press Story

Only a few days ago I received from friends a copy of the fascist newspaper *Der Danziger Vorposten* containing an account of the court trial; also copies of the illegal publication of the Danzig organization of the "Trotskyists" namely, their paper *Spartakus*, and several of their proclamations.

Der Danziger Vorposten for December 9, 1936 writes: "After careful surveillance and preparation on the part of the political police, the latter was able a few days ago to expose a secret communist organization, the Spartakus, and to arrest most of the members". All told some sixty individuals were seized. The criminals, according to the police, tried "to make their organization the rallying centre of all the enemies of the state. They carried on intensive work, issued leaflets, distributed secret literature smuggled in from abroad, collected funds etc." "One of the leaders of the organization even paid a visit to Trotsky in Norway in the summer of this year (1936).... Prior to the time the secret organization was apprehended, a lively correspondence with Trotsky was in all probability conducted through the Polish post".

In these first few lines the familiar melodies already ring: You have a Trotskyist organization as the "rallying center of all the enemies of the state" (this time the Fascist state); you have a trip by one of the leaders to Trotsky—which reminds us of Piatakov's "flight" to Oslo; a lively correspondence between the defendants and Trotsky, and the receipt of "instructions" from him.... It would seem as if Vishinsky's indictment a month and a half later was patterned on the Danzig model.

Vishinsky's Language

Of the sixty who were arrested only ten, ranging in age from 23 to 57, were brought to trial. How the Nazis disposed of the others remains unknown. Dr. Franz Jakubowski, a German citizen, was stipulated as the leader of the organization and the principal accused. All the others are citizens of Danzig. The report of the court proceedings declares that the "leader of the Trotskyist gang" gave a brief account of his revolutionary work. In Danzig they use the same terminology as in Moscow: The organization of the opposition is invariably referred to as a "gang". The twenty-five-year old Jakubowski became a Marxist in 1930, a Communist in 1932, and a Trotskyist in 1935. Jakubowski was intimate with another young Marxist, Dr. Siegfried Kissien, who was, according to the indictment, the individual that visited Trotsky in Oslo.

To quote the indictment, the

Danzig Trotskyists in their proclamation and newspaper "trampled into mud everything German, and on the contrary, extolled Soviet Russia".

Upon his arrest Dr. Jakubowski was found in possession "not only of printed materials but also American dollars and English pounds." This section of the Gestapo indictment likewise seems a miniature model for the accusations of the G.P.U., with this difference, that the Moscow "Trotskyists" trampled into mud everything Soviet and kowtowed to Fascism, while the Danzig Trotskyists did just the opposite. While Piatakov received marks from German firms, Jakubowski was discovered in possession of dollars and pounds.

Fascist Indignant

Vorposten for January 12 prints a photograph of the courtroom during the speech of the state prosecutor whose name was not Vishinsky but Hoffman. The courtroom, as the newspaper reports, was jammed with spectators. The accused were charged with maligning the Government, disturbing the peace, circulating false information, violating the press laws, and, lastly, being in illegal possession of weapons.

If the Danzig Trotskyists "extolled Soviet Russia", then they evidently made an exception of Stalinist justice. For it was especially held against Jakubowski that in an article of his "the Moscow judicial farce is compared with the trial of the Reichstag incendiaries." The state prosecutor (Hoffman and not Vishinsky) waxed indignant over this "astounding comparison". The speeches of the accused were not printed. They did not recant nor did they praise Hitler but they did set forth their revolutionary views.

The ten accused, two women among the number, received a total sentence of 13 years imprisonment whereof Jakubowski's share—for whom the prosecutor demanded five years' hard labor—came to three years and three months in prison. In passing sentence the court declared among other things the following: "The Trotskyist league must be looked upon as a communist organization. True, differences exist between the Trotskyists and the other communists but these concern not the world-outlook but only questions of party tactics."

In conclusion, the presiding judge expressed his regret that the chief criminal Dr. Kissien happened to be in Copenhagen and not in the prisoner's dock. The Danzig government had the intelligence, of course, to refrain from demanding the extradition of Kissien.

Trotskyists Hit Fascism

Of enormous political interest are the publications of the *Spartakus Bund* which delineate fully the political physiognomy of that organization. We have heard from the Gestapo that the conspirators used to resort to the "Polish post" in order to transmit materials in which insults were heaped upon "everything German". Yet, the manifesto on the Spanish events begins with the following words: "The German and Polish fascist Governments have hypocritically proclaimed their neutrality in the Spanish civil war. As a matter of fact, they are the constant purveyors of arms to the Spanish fascists."

A circular which calls upon the dockworkers to do all in their power to prevent any further

By Leon Trotsky

shipment of war materials is signed: "Internationalist-Communists of German. Danzig Group (Trotskyists)." Thus the Spartakus Bund considers itself a part of the nationwide German organization of the Trotskyists, the very same that, according to Vishinsky, entered into an alliance with the Gestapo as far back as 1932. The alliance of Trotskyists with the Gestapo took place, as is well known, prior to the very formation of the Gestapo itself.

Call for 4th International

In a proclamation devoted to the collapse of the old workers' parties we find the following declaration: "By their policies they prepared their own doom. As long as they could they continued to instill their adherents with illusions, and thereby restrained them from struggling against the Nazis." The leaders of the Spartakus Bund do not sow illusions. They write: "We know that it is no easy thing to do away with fascism. Work, hard and dangerous, long and stubborn work is necessary to prepare for its downfall.... Help us build a new communist party which will give revolutionary leadership to the proletariat. Help us build the Fourth International which will lead the world revolution to victory."

The Danzig fascists have advanced the slogan: "Danzig must become the anti-Bolshevik fortress on the Eastern German frontier." According to Vishinsky, the Trotskyists should have constituted a part of the garrison of this fortress. They refuse, however, to conform in any way to this pattern. They write in their paper: "Not collaboration with the bourgeoisie but the overthrow of fascism by the armed might of the proletariat—that is the task of the Danzig anti-fascists. The organization of workers in the industrial enterprises, in the unemployed bureaus and in the forced labor camps to resist and actively struggle against national-socialism—that is the sole means of overthrowing fascism."

What is the attitude of the Danzig Trotskyists to the defense of the U.S.S.R.? "Hitler offers himself as a super-wrangler"—writes the organ of the Spartakus Bund—"for the imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union.... Stalin and his bureaucracy constitute the greatest danger to the existence of the Soviet power. In their home policy they have supplanted the rule of the proletariat with the rule of the bureaucracy; in foreign policy they have given preference to an alliance with the bourgeoisie as against the support of the proletariat. But they haven't as yet succeeded in destroying the most important social conquests of the October revolution. Private ownership of the means of production still remains abolished in Russia. Therefore the defense of the U.S.S.R. remains the unconditional duty of the proletariat." Let us not forget that this was written on Hitler's own territory.

Stalinist Hypocrisy

In August 1936, a few days before the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, the Danzig group of the Stalinists turned to the Spartakus Bund with a proposal for a united front. But no sooner were the negotiations opened than the Moscow trial broke. On the very

next day the Danzig Stalinists wrote: "The tie-up with the Gestapo does not come to us a surprise. After all, the Trotskyist fraternity in Danzig has long been the espionage and provocationist center of the Danzig Gestapo." This episode provides on a small scale an example of the corruption that the G.P.U. introduces in the ranks of the working class the world over. The Danzig Trotskyists replied with scorn: "Had we been connected with the Gestapo, you would have been clapped in jail long ago, for you yourselves were in negotiation with us."

As matters turned out, it was the members of the Spartakus Bund who shortly found themselves in jail!!

Moscow and Danzig

The traits of resemblance between the Danzig and the Moscow trials should not, however, obscure from our view the fundamental difference between them. The Danzig indictment in all its essential aspects was genuine; the Moscow trial—fraudulent from top to bottom. In Danzig unimpeachable material proofs, seized during the arrests, were produced. No revolutionary organization can exist and function without a program and a press. Through their modest mimeograph machine, the Danzig Trotskyists maintained their contact with the masses. At the trial they renounced neither their ideas nor their publications. They acknowledged their solidarity with me both in their press and in the courtroom. The report of the court proceedings hasn't a word to say about "recantations". In the prisoners' dock in Danzig there sat my real co-thinkers and not enemies of mine who assumed a mask of friendship by command of the police.

Mention was made in the court of Kissien's journey to Oslo. In

dealing with the "flight" of Piatakov, I made reference to it. But the whole thing is this that Kissien did really visit me in July 1936 while traveling from Danzig to Denmark. At the time this visit was reported in the Norwegian press. The conditions under which I live exclude the possibility of any secret visits.

"Instructions" Non Existent

To be sure, the assertion that I sent "instructions" to Danzig is sheer fiction. Of the Danzig group I learned from Kissien only a few days prior to my internment and I engaged in no correspondence with it. But this does not essentially change anything in the matter. There is between us a bond of close ideological solidarity. As the publications of the Spartakus Bund eloquently testify, its young I leaders were perfectly able to find their way in political questions, without any of my "instructions".

The fascist prosecutor did not charge the Danzig Trotskyists with terrorism, sabotage and espionage, nor did he demand their heads. The explanation for this is to be found in the fact that the totalitarian regime in Danzig is still young and the public opinion of the ruling party itself is still unprepared for such measures. Stalin is now stepping to the fore as the educator of fascism. The G.P.U. is giving lessons to the Gestapo. When Hitler's position becomes still more difficult, the German Vishinskys will chop off the heads of the revolutionary workers on the charge of terrorism, sabotage and espionage. The seeds of the Moscow frame-ups, we need not doubt, will not fall on barren soil. But the seeds sown by the Spartakus Bund will likewise sprout revolutionary shoots in their time.

Mexico, April 29, 1937.

Ask Aid of Yipsels in New York Fighth

(Continued from page 4)

pellers have read themselves out of the organization. The YPSL will be carried on and preserved—by the nine members of the DEC whose names are undersigned, organized as the Provisional District Executive Committee of the New York District.

Comrades! the split has been forced by Clarity and the right wing. Every comrade must take his stand, with or against the splitters, with or against the left wing, with or against the representatives of revolutionary socialism. You must take action now. Attend the general membership called for this Thursday, at which the rotten policy of the Clarity caucus will be exposed. Not by rumors—but by proof!

Elect delegates to the left wing conference to be held on Saturday, August 28. After the national convention, a regular district convention will be held. Elect left wing delegates to the national convention.

Carry on the Young Peoples Socialist League! Build a revolutionary YPSL.

With Socialist Greetings

Donald Bergner
Hal Draper
Mary Ford
Manny Garrett
Anne Kracik
Irving Panken
Alex Retzkin
Oscar Shoenfeld

Address all communications to the Provisional Committee—Room 731—41 Union Square, N. Y. C.

Nankin Bans Truth of Moscow Trials at Bid of Stalin Ambassador

Truth about the Stalinist frame-ups in Moscow is spreading in ever-widening circles across the face of the earth. We have received from China a 182 page book entitled "Behind the Moscow Trials", written by Chang Chia-chu and published by the Oriental Book Company in Shanghai.

This first book in the Chinese language on the subject of Stalin's most recent crimes against the revolution, is divided into eight chapters and contains, in addition to original material, a translation of Trotsky's Hippodrome speech and the pamphlet "World Voices on the Moscow Trials".

A Chinese comrade writes that shortly after the appearance of the book, the reactionary Kuomintang Government at Nanking was requested by Dimitri Bogomolov, Soviet ambassador to China, to place it under ban and that this request was promptly accepted. At the same time, Nanking gave formal permission for the publication of Moscow's "official record" of the court proceedings in the Zinoviev-Kamenev and Radek-Piatakov trials.

Those acquainted with conditions in China under the Kuomintang regime know what the banning of a book involves. In Chinese-controlled territory, the Kuomintang police raid all bookshops, seize copies of the proscribed publication and have them destroyed.

The Politics of Gus Tyler--A Genuine

How the Centrist Leadership of the Clarity Group Reacts to the Crisis

The liberal is the political product of the most hopeless and helpless class in modern society—the bewildered, desperate, floundering petty bourgeoisie. If only the two great social classes would behave with cultured restraint and mutual consideration, he thinks, society could be preserved from explosive shocks—above all, the liberal could be preserved from mental discomforts and his inevitable fate. As the inexorable class struggle sharpens, with the proletariat assembling more definitely in the camp of revolution and the bourgeoisie in the camp of Fascism, the liberal can think of no better counsel to give than to instruct the Fascists in the eminent superiority of the democratic way of exploiting the masses and preserving private property and to admonish the workers not to "provoke" Fascism by their militancy and boldness. The uncontrollable social forces that make the two antagonistic camps irreconcilable, that make the complete victory of the one at the expense of the other, inescapable, appear to the distorted eye of the liberal only as impertinent interlopers in what should be a world of Urbanity, Love, Virtue, and above all, Peace.

The Liberal and the "Sectarians"

It is not, mind you, that he is not as much opposed to Fascism as anybody else, he always hastens to assure the proletarian revolutionist. He's as much opposed to it as the next man. But you must not be so aggressive, so discourteous, so violent, for he who takes up the sword shall perish by the sword. And when the revolutionists ask the liberal—ever so politely!—to step aside quietly so that they may come to grips with reaction and smash it before it has grown too strong to be halted, the injured liberal throws up his hands and exclaims: "Impossible sectarians! Not even their best friends can work with them!" Almost a century of experience of revolutionists with petty bourgeois liberalism has more than earned the latter the adjective "rotten".

In the Socialist Party today, we have a genuine case of rotten liberalism in the persons of the Clarity leadership, and more specifically of its most active journalistic apologist, Gus Tyler. Tyler has not found it difficult in the past to acquire at reasonable rates a superficial reputation for a radicalism which malicious tongues sometimes whisperingly characterize as "Trotskyism". But in the three-cornered struggle that has developed in the party for more than a year, Tyler has demonstrated with increasing clearness that underlying his radicalism is something that vitiates it at every decisive and crucial moment. He is at bottom a Party liberal—left wing, to be sure, a "friend of the Trotskyists", of course, even their "best friend", but nevertheless a liberal.

The last lingering doubt which some may have foolishly entertained on this score has been dispelled by Tyler himself, in the form of his two recent caucus circulars and the editorial in the August 21, 1937 issue of the Clarity faction organ, the Call.

Political problems can only be analyzed and resolved politically. It is necessary to state this platitude because so many "leaders" still think it can be done otherwise—by means of gossip, old

wives' tales, whispering campaigns, small-time maneuvers, apparatus combinations and cleverly put-over and promptly forgotten resolutions for the files. The crisis in the party is a political crisis. It is precipitated by the clash of antagonistic programs and the groups that advocate them. The programs and the groups must be estimated politically.

The right wing solution of the crisis is at the same time its program. Two sentences sum it up completely and accurately: It aims to liquidate the SP into a reformist, anti-revolutionary Fabian society, operating within a "Labor party" as an "educational force". It can do this only by first expelling the biggest obstacle to this course, the left wing. Since it does not have the support of the membership, it can achieve its ends only by bureaucratic and arbitrary action. For anyone who sees and thinks politically, this means that the responsibility for the split now taking place lies exclusively on the shoulders of the right wing. All talk about discipline, "violations", "Trotsky's orders", "secret letters" and the like, is just so much tawdry trimming for a plain reality which requires none.

The Left Wing and the Right are Irreconcilable

The left wing, like its right adversaries, realizes that the opposing standpoints are irreconcilable. The best will in the world, on either side or both, cannot reconcile liquidation with the struggle against it, reformism with revolutionary Marxism. Up to a certain point, it is possible for the two views to remain under one roof, as proved by the pre-war Second International and the SP since the Detroit convention. But beyond that point, that is, beyond the point where the views crystallize fully on burning questions of the day and come into head-on, unpostponable collision, not all the wise and good men in the world can keep the proponents of the antagonistic views together. It has been tried before without success. The fatal mistake of Gus Tyler is to try it again.

The left wing has said that those who give political support to the People's Front after it massacred the Catalonian workers, are the defenders of the butchers and assassins of the Spanish workers. Is that true, is it politically correct? Tyler does not stop to ask this decisive political question, as a revolutionist would. It is true that at the Philadelphia N.E.C. meeting he mumbled that Caballero and Co. had played the same role in Barcelona as Scheidemann and Noske had played when they crushed the Spartacists in blood. But that was just a speech, a "radical speech", and had no political consequences for Tyler. In his caucus circular, he does not bother with the detail about taking the side either of Noske or Spartacus; he confines himself to the indignation of the Party liberal who is outraged because the left wing calls a spade a spade: "When one resorts to such characterization, the next logical question is: Can you be in the same party as 'butchers and assassins of the Spanish workers'?"

Good. Let us ask in turn: Is it not true that the Zam-Delson statement on the New York municipal elections calls the Thomas-Altman position a "hidden and cowardly support" of La Guardia, a "capitulation to the

By Max Shachtman

backwardness of the workers", "putting the Socialist party on the auction block", and a "betrayal of socialism"? Is not "the next logical question" to Tyler: "Can you be in the same party as betrayers of socialism?"

For our part, the answer is unambiguous: We fight tooth and nail against the LaGuardia-socialists. We have no intention whatsoever of being in the same party as betrayers of socialism, much less of making a combination of any kind with them.

"There is proof positive that the Trotskyist wreckers want a split!" Tyler will exclaim. Again, there speaks the Party liberal. It is not at all a question of "wanting a split". The revolutionist merely recognizes the fact that a split in the S.P. is just as unavoidable today as it was over a year ago, and for the same basic reason. At that time, no power in the party was able to prevent the separation of the corrupt Old Guard from the rest of the membership, although the "sectarian Trotskyists" were not to be found in the ranks of the party. Today, a similar situation has arisen with the "new" Old Guard of Thomas-Altman-Lewis-Wisconsin. At that time, the real problem was not the prevention of the split, but the reduction of the split to the smallest proportions and the consolidation of the party on a revolutionary basis against the right wing splitters. And, precisely because the "Militants" of that time (Altman-Thomas-Tyler-Zam) did not understand the problem correctly, the split was a big one and the party was not properly consolidated. By their vacillation, by their groveling before McLevy, the "Militants" ended up with McLevy taking the whole Bridgeport organization. By the same policy towards the Reading Old Guard, they ended up with a crippled organization in Pennsylvania. Is it so difficult to foresee that the same policy today will only result in the Hoan-Porter crew keeping the whole Wisconsin organization and in Thomas and Altman having similarly unnecessary success in New York and elsewhere?

Now, what does Tyler reply to the question which we (and the situation itself) have put to him?

How Does Tyler Answer the Decisive Question?

We know the stinging words with which Tyler describes the right wing. For a serious revolutionist, such characterizations would preclude completely the possibility of collaborating with such elements—and most certainly not against the left wing. As to the latter, Tyler, only five months ago, gave the following political estimate, again, in words: "The Trotskyists, as opposed to the various right wing and centrist tendencies in our party, are essentially revolutionaries. On the basic questions of a revolutionary program: the state, Popular Front, and the war question, they stand with the revolutionaries against the right and centrist elements. The Trotskyists, moreover, stand with the other revolutionaries in the party against liquidationism, against parliamentary socialism, against pacifism, against popular frontism, against national defenseism. Hence, on all the basic revolutionary questions the Trotskyites and all revolutionary so-

cialists should be able to work together."

To be sure, Tyler expressed opposition to the "methods" and the "psychology" of the Trotskyists, and pointed out the difficulty of "assimilating" them; but even this difficulty he then laid at the door of the rest of the party. The important and decisive point, however, is this: according to his own words, Tyler (and presumably, the group for which he speaks) has absolutely nothing in common politically with the right wing (i. e., the liquidators and betrayers), whereas with the left wing, he has a common political platform "on the basic question of a revolutionary program".

For a genuine revolutionist, and not for a wordy Party liberal who does not think or act politically, such a judgement as made by Tyler would dictate the following course: "Even if, as a result of some poorly digested texts of Lenin, I must carry on my 'fight on two fronts', it is nevertheless plain that I must make a solid block with the Trotskyists, with whom I have so much in common—politically, fundamentally—to fight mercilessly and at every point against the liquidators and traitors with whom I have nothing in common. This is a course which my own written documents make it impossible for me to escape."

Only—and here is the rub!—in the same issue of Socialist Clarity from which we have already plucked such a perfect Tylerian flower, he had something just as perfect to say: "Many years ago, there developed inside the labor movement a tendency which, while ready to underwrite almost any sort of a document, consistently refused to make such basic principles a guide for day by day action." Ay, there's the rub! For Tyler was not only giving a terse and flawless description of centrism in that sentence, but an autobiographical characterization of himself and of the "Clarity" group.

We already know Tyler's "basic principles", and the "documents" he is "ready to underwrite". Let us, however, look briefly at his "day by day action".

Tyler wrote a radical anti-war resolution for the Chicago convention. With that document, he considered his revolutionary work accomplished. He fumes indignantly at us in his caucus circulars because we still refuse to take his "radicalism" seriously. The Party liberal simply cannot understand that, for revolutionists, political documents cannot remain on paper but are written to be executed, particularly against those at whom they are directed. Have Tyler and Co. lifted a finger to put that resolution into effect in those circles where it was supposed to do the most good: the LID (as pacifistic as ever), the Italian Stampa Libera (completely Stalinized), the Milwaukee Leader (the same today as yesterday), Meta Berger and similars (still in the American League against War and Fascism)? No, not one finger, for that would have offended the right wing allies of the Clarity leadership.

Together with Tyler, we adopted at Chicago a fairly good trade union resolution. We meant it. And Tyler, Zam and Co.? Have they enforced it against Gross, Baron and the other petty trade union bureaucrats in the party whom Tyler now calls the "social base" of the right wing? Have

they enforced it in the Wisconsin organization, where it was so urgently required? Just the contrary. As we proved in the last issue of the Appeal, the Clarity leadership capitulated shamefully to the Wisconsin right wing on this question.

What significance has the equally good Unemployed Resolution of the convention when Tyler's NEC has allowed the WAA, founded and built by the SP, to become a watch-charm on the chain of the Communist Party, only because it did not dare take the indicated vigorous measures against the right wing's protégé, the Stalinist stooge, David Lasser?

Who Picked the NEC and How Does It Act?

In his gossip grocery-store caucus letters, Tyler gets pathetically angry with the "Trotskyist school of falsification" and with Glen Trimble in particular for the latter's entirely apt description of the "Clarity NEC" as a body "handpicked by Wisconsin". Yet, for a person with a political eye, that description fits like a glove. Is it not true that Norman Thomas wrote Paul McCormick that he was opposed to the Appeal group having any representation at all in the incoming NEC, and that the Thomas opinion prevailed? Is it not true that when we proposed Albert Goldman for the NEC slate, Maynard Krueger declared to us, in the presence of Zam, Delson, John Fisher and others, while they were waiting humbly for an audience in the anteroom of the Wisconsin-Altman-Lewis delegations: "Wisconsin will never agree to Goldman"? Is it not true that the Clarity leadership demanded that we withdraw our four NEC nominations from the Chicago convention floor on the ground that, unless we did, the Wisconsin gang would not vote for and carry the "Clarity" slate? Is it not true that Trager was permitted on the NEC only when Clarity gave Wisconsin assurances that he would not continue as Labor Secretary? Is it not true that the only reason why the two theoretical leaders of Clarity are not even members of the NEC today (Zam and Tyler), is that Wisconsin vetoed it? What amount of corridor muttering can cover up these simple facts?

But didn't the NEC "endorse the Trotsky Committee" and confirm such a radical fellow as Tyler in the editorship of the Call? True, true. But what did that mean in practice. "Tyler himself reveals this when he makes his abject apologies to Altman and Co. in order to prove that under his direction the Call was not at all deservant of criticism from the right. In order to show that there is really no cause for complaint from Altman and Wisconsin, Tyler bleats in his circular:

"Why are we not attacked for carryin', virtually nothing on all the executions recently? Why are we not attacked for not mentioning the new drive against the socialists in Russia—except in the one article which is attacked? Why are we not criticized for making front page news out of a world-shaking event—the new reaction in Russia? Why are we so violently criticized because we dare to write a single article in fourteen weeks, which is critical, after long columns calling for the defense of the Soviet Union? "Why?" (Fitting questions that deserve a fitting reply!)

Again: "Another charge (2 out of 7 charges) is that one of our

Case of Rotten Liberalism in the Party

Confronting the Socialist Party at the Decisive Stages of the Struggle

prime concerns is the Trotsky trials. This is absolutely untrue. We have allotted six and one-half columns to the matter of the Trotsky investigation in Mexico during the last fourteen weeks. For ten weeks we ran nothing on the investigation, although our party has endorsed the American Committee. All our news dealt with statements of John Dewey. We gave a little more than 3 per cent of the available space to the Mexico investigations.—"In day by day action, as we see, the difference boils down to Tyler's apologizing for 6 and one half columns in 14 weeks and silence in 10 weeks and Altman's demanding no columns at all for 52 weeks in the year.

"We have implied criticism of Blum's policy of non-intervention, we have been openly critical of Negrin in one issue. We have not run any articles outside of these, attacking the French party, the British party, the Spanish party, the Belgian party, the Dutch party. We did not attack these parties despite the fact that they were committing criminal errors and damaging the cause of international socialism."

Criminal Silence About Criminal Errors

The space of the Appeal is very precious, but we cannot refrain from reiterating Tyler's own supine apology to Altman, his confession of rotten liberalism, his self-characterization of a whole political line of action: "We did not attack these parties despite the fact that they were committing criminal errors and damaging the cause of international socialism."

The left wing wants to speak out in condemnation of the crimes of the Blums and Negrins of the whole world, including America, crimes which are wrecking our international cause. The right wing wants to speak out in praise of these crimes. The contribution which the rotten liberals of Tyler's "school" make in practice to the dispute between these two annoying extremes, is to remain silent about the crimes, on the smug theory that this surely ought to satisfy the "splitters" and "keep the party united". But in law and in politics, knowledge of guilt and silence makes one an accessory to the crime after the fact. And this gives us Tyler's role—the role of the Clarity leadership—in a nutshell: To strike the real blows at the left, with whom "we agree politically", using all the stock reactionary arguments of the right wingers ("sectarians", "splitters", "unassimilables"), and to cover with silence the crimes of the right, with whom "we have nothing in common politically".

Are more proofs needed? Let us review the most recent examples:

At the Philadelphia NEC meeting, the test question before all party tendencies was the crisis in Spain. The majority resolution stood for political support to the People's Front in the concrete, designating it as the "provisional revolutionary government". Tyler, under our pressure, presented a "little reservation". He merely argued that this "provisional revolutionary government" had acted the same way in Spain as Noske and Scheidemann had acted in Germany in 1919 when they led the counter-revolution to a victory against the Spartacists. In other words, he spoke for one side of the barricades.

The left wing, taking its words seriously launched a struggle in the party and the YPSL against the resolution which supported the Popular Front counter-revolution, that is, we identified our day by day action with our documents. And Tyler? Faced with the necessity of a choice in action, he turned into the most virulent defender of the NEC resolution. His words about Noske and Scheidemann had merely been an oratorical exercise, similar to those practiced by members of college debating teams who take either side of an argument with equal facility. (We opposed the resolution. Altman, Raskin, Lewis, Zam, Burt, Delson and Felix supported the resolution. Tyler ended by ranging himself alongside of Altman and Wisconsin, with the sickly explanation that the latter had voted for the resolution out of incomprehension of its contents. The convention dispute on the abstraction of People's Frontism dissolved into agreement between Tyler-Clarity and Altman-Wisconsin on the concrete People's Front in Spain. The only remaining difference is that the right wing wants to improve on its victory and go further, whereas the Clarity group won't go unless it's dragged. As for the revolutionists they cannot be dragged.

At the New York NEC meeting, the test question before all party tendencies was the inner-party crisis. The left wing proposed: Condemn the right wing splitters; condemn the Wisconsin opportunists who are disgracing the name of socialism; prohibit in advance the LaGuardia sell-out. Tyler-Clarity found no common language with us, who "are essentially revolutionaries". They did find a common language, a common resolution, with those they attack in words as "betrayers of socialism". The gag-law, it is true, was advocated in different ways by Tyler, by Thomas, by Raskin. Naturally, the right wing, being bolder, more resolute and more consistent, demanded sharper measures against the left. But the big political fact, which completely overshadows the corridor gossip about what Thomas murmured and what Altman shouted, remains this: The final resolution does not bear the signature of the left wing; it does bear the signature of Thomas and Tyler, of Raskin and Zam, of Baron and Trager, of Lewis and Delson, of Altman and McDowell. The big political fact remains this: Altman, Thomas and Lewis brought their charges against the left wingers and expelled them from the party entirely on the basis of Tyler's gag-law. The big political fact remains this: while the left wing challenged the Clarity resolution, the right wing became its most ardent champion. The big political fact remains this: while the left wing is being systematically clubbed with the gag-law, not a single right winger has his position adversely affected by it. Once again, we see what rotten liberalism in the party means in practice.

The Party Liberal Asleep . . . and Aroused

Finally: we are expelled from the party in which Tyler and Altman sought to gag us. The referendum against the gag-law, legally and properly initiated by us, is cynically sabotaged by the NEC. Edlin, the Altmanite, continues his weekly attack upon us in the columns of the Tammany Jewish Day, where he regularly

discusses all the party's internal affairs from the Altman caucus standpoint. Valenti, the Altmanite, continues his open attacks upon us in the columns of his paper, *Stampa Libera*, for which he is soliciting funds on the claim that it will be the only Italian daily in the elections to support LaGuardia. The Altmanite editors of the official Jewish party organ, the *Shtimme*, make a public attack upon us in the editorial columns, as far back as the beginning of July. The Altmanite, Lasser, continues his scandalous attacks on our comrades in the columns of the *Daily Worker*. The Altmanite, Thomas, continues his appeals for the LaGuardia sell-out in the columns of the *Call*. We are excluded from the *Call*, whose board is divided between Clarity and the right wing, without a single left wing representative (in accordance with the practice of the "fight on two fronts". The Altmanites announce to the capitalist press, in a news release which Zam and Delson call a "betrayal of socialism" (Nothing less!), the plan to withdraw the party mayoralty candidate—before the NEC has "acted", before the New York referendum has begun. All these acts are committed by the right wing liquidators without a single measure being taken against them by the brave Clarity leadership. The editor of the *Call* sails along serenely oblivious to such trifles.

Gagged inside the party, we certainly refuse to be gagged and paralyzed outside of it. We issue the *Socialist Appeal* in order to state our case, just as Altman, Tyler, Zam and Thomas issued the *Socialist Call* two years ago without asking the permission of the Old Guard after the latter had locked them out of the party. We reply in the New York Times to the treacherous statement of Thomas and Altman in the same paper, in an attempt to uphold the honor of revolutionary socialism by showing that the bulk of the party membership does not support the LaGuardia deal.

Instantaneously, the editor of the *Call*, entirely fresh and unscathed from his struggle against the right wing front, gets into real action against the left wing front. Instantaneously, the NAC of the party, whose mouth was full of water all these weeks that Thomas was carrying on negotiations to sell the party down the river and preparing and carrying out the illegal mass expulsion, gets into real action, just as it got into action when California's charter was so promptly suspended without even the formality of a hearing. Tyler hastily writes and the NAC approves an editorial for the *Call* on the crisis in the New York party.

What does the editorial do? Does it condemn the "betrayal of socialism", the putting of the SP "on the auction block" by the horse-traders, the sell-out which has been all but consummated? Does it condemn the mass expulsions in New York which the Clarity group at the City Central Committee denounced as "illegal", which they formally refused to recognize? Does it declare that Clarityite branches in New York (for miserable reasons which we shall explain on another occasion) have refused to unseat "expelled" left wingers, have continued to recognize the "expelled" as regular members, have defied and flouted the authority of the Altman group, which is presumably the official party

administration in New York?

Not at all! Not a hint of all this appears in the editorial of the paladins of struggle on two fronts. Instead, with all the viciousness of which your truly timid liberal is capable when he has become completely disoriented and desperate, there is a savage attack upon the left wing, utterly mendacious in its falsehoods.

It Seems That We Have not Been Expelled At All!

Our assertion that we were expelled in order to facilitate the LaGuardia deal—a fact realized even by political infants, and repeated often enough by Clarityites as well—is characterized as "a brazen lie"!

Not only a lie, but a brazen one! But didn't the Clarityites, in their caucus statement just a few weeks ago ("The Die Is Cast") declare: "It is Altman who mobilized the campaign against the Trotskyists months prior to their split perspective, impelling them in that direction and provoking them into a counter-offensive.... It is the Altman group which is brazenly embarking on a policy of suspensions and expulsions for minor or manufactured offenses in order to deepen the crisis in the party. It is the Altman group which show their Popular Frontist and reformist tendencies by attempting to force us into a 'Browderian' support of LaGuardia."

But, according to Tyler now, Altman hasn't split the party or expelled us. It is we who have left the party; we walked out, and Altman is entirely guiltless. Tyler has the infuriating effrontery to write: "Not all the Trotskyists have left (!!) the SP; many still remain. Their very presence proves that Trotskyists are not expelled for what they believe."

A falsehood in every word; worse, a deliberate falsehood; still worse, a deliberate falsehood calculated to cover up the wretched crimes of Altman and Co. Only a few weeks ago, in the Clarity document just cited, they said: "It is Altman who is excluding and expelling people from the party for political beliefs, returning to the heresy-hunting of the Old Guard." Today, the same Tyler who admitted covering up the crimes of the European social democracy by his silence, rushes to cover up the crimes of the American right wing by his loud lies. Today, it appears, there is "proof" that we are not expelled for political beliefs. In fact, we have not been expelled at all—that was merely a hallucination from which Clarity suffered yesterday and from which we still suffer; we were not expelled, dear reader of the *Socialist Call*, we left the SP!

Read Altman's official statement on our expulsion and Tyler's official editorial. Except that Tyler is more repulsive in his baseness, the two are politically (and in places textually) identical. Both of them announce that we are the "splitters", that we are the "disrupters". Both of them charge that the basis of our expulsion is our "allegiance to an opponent organization," the Fourth International.

Only, Tyler, who cannot write an article that does not reveal his sickening liberalism, does not forget to add in pious justification of the expulsion: "During the last year the Trotskyists have broken from every party in the

world with which they were affiliated—in order to launch their Trotskyist International." The sentence is a platform. It is true that the "sectarian Trotskyists" did not remain in the French Socialist party. They were expelled by Blum and Co. for the simple reason that they fought vigorously and consistently against People's Frontism and social-patriotism. If Tyler were in France, would he have fought with the patriots or with the internationalists? Would he be today in the camp of the expelled or of their bureaucratic expellers? That is the question! Similarly in Belgium, where the left wing was expelled by the reformist bureaucracy which would tolerate no criticism of its betrayals, of what Tyler calls, in his caucus circular, "criminal errors and damaging of the cause of international socialism". Similarly in Spain, where the Trotskyists were expelled from the POUM because they opposed support of the People's Front and entry into a bourgeois coalition government. With whom would, or does, Tyler stand? The Party liberal doesn't say. He merely tells his readers that the Trotskyists were not expelled by Altman (or by Blum!) for their revolutionary opinions.—Oh no!—they deliberately broke, you see, from every "party" because they are incorrigible sectarians.

The Party Liberal Five Months Ago and Today

Could Altman do better? Whether he can or not, he certainly doesn't need to. In order to give countenance to his treacherous political campaign and his mass expulsion, he need only quote from the Clarity leadership. Months ago, Tyler seemed to be on the verge of understanding the mechanics and politics of the right wing drive against the revolutionists. In his article for the short-lived *Socialist Clarity*, he wrote:

"Leading comrades, especially in the large and important New York organization, did not want Trotskyists in the party to begin with, were just praying for them to make slips to be played up, set to work to hasten the day when they could expel the Trotskyists and say: 'I told you so!' (Just as Tyler is doing today!—S.) Instead of a serious effort at assimilation, we are treated to the spectacle of groups being formed with but one program: 'expel the Trotskyists.' Around this slogan a campaign is conducted. A hysteria is created in the Party—a split atmosphere. Name-calling and rumor are substituted for political argument; horror tales are invented; differences are exaggerated and common purposes minimized. In this unhealthy atmosphere, constructive work is impossible. We must put a stop to these splitting trends in the party. And we must stop them immediately." . . .

That was months ago, just on the eve of the convention, at which Tyler, in his private discussions with us, expressed his perturbations about what would happen when Thomas returned from Europe with a full-fledged reformist line for People's Frontism and for Trotsky-baiting in the party, about how pretenses would be trumped up for a split drive against the "Trotskyists", about how imperative was a shoulder-to-shoulder fight against Thomas and his allies, giving no quarter and asking none.

For all his verbose radicalism, (Continued on page 8)

Party Branches Protest Mass Expulsions

Rochester and Twin Cities Hit Ouster

Rochester Protests

325 Meigs St.
August 10, 1937.

Roy E. Burt, Sec'y, National Executive Committee.
James Lipsig, Sec'y, N. Y. State Exec. Committee.

Dear Comrades:

Local Rochester, in Special Meeting called for the purpose of considering the inner-Party crisis adopts the following statement to be sent to the N. E. C. and S. E. C.

There exists a grave crisis in the party. After thorough discussion of the report of our Convention Delegate and examination of the minutes of the Chicago Convention, the Constitution, Resolutions and Policies adopted by that convention, after consideration of statements issued by the various factions within the Party, after consideration of the actions and resolutions of the N.E.C., the N. Y. S.E.C. and the N. Y. City Central and Campaign Committees, we have come to the following conclusions.

That the Chicago Convention both in spirit and action was predominantly for a Revolutionary Socialist Party. Was determined to be done with class-collaboration and Popular-Frontism. The Convention over-ruled all "Red-hering" cries of "Trotskyism" and all insinuations of expulsions. They who raised these cries were discredited by the Convention.

It appears to us that the greatest single cause of the inner-party conflicts today is due to the fact that those officers on whom the responsibility was placed for the carrying out of the actions of the Convention have themselves failed to comply with the spirit and action of that Convention. Political experience has shown that a policy of vacillation and collaboration with extreme right-wing tendencies leads to harmful and futile reformism, which in turn leads to splits and ruin.

After the heroic campaign of 1936, the policy of Local N. Y. is shameful capitulation to the forces of reformism and Stalinism. If we analyze the European situation as well as the local situation, especially that of the W.A.A., we are forced to believe that we have been either overwhelmed by the New Deal landslide, or duped by the Stalinist anti-revolutionists. We believe the Stalinists must be fought on every front and exposed at every turn.

We renew our protest of the actions of the N.E.C. at both the Philadelphia and N. Y. City meetings.

We renew our protest against the "Gag" resolution of the Special N. E. C. meeting and renew our demand for a party referendum on it.

This resolution is fantastic and dictatorial and opened the doors for mass expulsions of left-wingers who do not agree with the present leadership.

We renew our protest against the expulsion drive as a direct violation of the will of the convention and demand the reinstatement of all members expelled and suspended.

We renew our protest against the vacillating policy on the Spanish resolution.

We demand a special convention of the Party.

We reiterate our opposition to the attempts of Local New York

to turn the Socialist Party over to the A. L. P., Republican, Communist Fusion Party. We believe the majority statement of the City Central Committee to show a definite trend toward the policy being followed by the Communist Party. This action is a violation of the constitution (Art. 10, Sec. 9) Labor Party Policy as adopted by the Chicago Convention.

We deplore the fact that the N. E. C. has failed to comply with the action of the Convention re: an inner-party organ. The Chicago Convention ratified a mutual agreement whereby all factions agreed to cease publication of factional organs with the understanding that the N. E. C. would publish an inner-party organ for full discussion by all factions; five months have elapsed; there is still no inner-party paper. While left wing members are being expelled or suspended for this reason, Comrade Thomas is permitted to place the Altman faction's side in the CALL and this same faction is permitted to present its view or arguments in official State and City papers, omitting the side of others. (SEC. Minutes July 23, "Report of Jack Altman". City Central Committee Minutes, July 6th).

Excerpts are lifted from writings of defendants (in true Capitalist fashion) thereby distorting the whole intent of the original text. (SEC minutes July 23, CCC minutes July 6) We protest this procedure as being undemocratic and disgraceful.

State Bulletin No. 4, carried a statement that Comrade Bennem, of Local Rochester, was circulating throughout the state, a letter which was inaccurate and unfair. After thorough consideration of this letter and statements contained therein, and inasmuch as the N.E.C. has failed to comply with the desires of the Convention in establishing an inner-party organ, and inasmuch as Comrade Bennem distinctly stated in his letter—"As I see it,"—we believe Comrade Bennem was acting within his rights as a member in this matter, and we resent the circulation of this statement which reflects upon the name of the Organizer of Local Rochester. We respectfully request that the above statement be carried in the next State Bulletin.

We submit this statement for your consideration.

Approved

B. C. BENNEM
Local Secretary

Twin Cities Protest

669 2nd Ave. N.
Aug. 17, 1937

National Executive Committee,
Socialist Party of the U. S. A.,
549 Randolph Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

We, the membership of the Socialist Party of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area, assembled in meeting Sunday, Aug. 15, 1937, vigorously protest and condemn the illegal expulsions of 52 left-wing Socialists in New York City by the Altman-Thomas-Valenti bloc.

We judge this to be a move on the part of the liquidators in the Socialist Party to split the Party and deliver the remnants to La Guardia and the American Labor Party.

We Socialists of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area cannot conscientiously recognize these expulsions. We not only refuse to recognize the expulsions, but we pledge our full support to the expelled comrades, and further pledge to collaborate with them in their struggle against the right-wing liquidators in the So-

A Black Book of the YPSL Leaders

Space does not allow for a complete enumeration of the bureaucratic crimes against socialist democracy and the League membership committed by the Clarityites in the Young People's Socialist League. We enumerate only a few of the more outrageous bureaucratic deeds.

1) The YPSL NEC met in Philadelphia during the Memorial Day week-end—May 29 to 31. Without heaving adequately warned the League circles in advance by special communication, the NEC closed the dues books, upon which circle representations was to be based, as of the day on which the NEC was meeting. The two Appeal members of the NEC pleaded with the committee to open the books for one month, in order that the League might have a really representative convention; they argued that the convention would certainly approve this extension as necessary for a democratic and spirited convention. It goes without saying that the Clarityites in control of the National Office "provided for" their circles.

Fix Arbitrary Ratios

2) This same session of the NEC moved the convention east from the mid-west, knowing full well that this would impose an extra burden on the mid-west and far west circles which are

predominantly left wing and comprise fully 50 per cent of the League membership. A fantastic ratio for the election of delegates was likewise decided upon—1 for 5 members, 2 for 8, 3 for 23; so that a circle with 30 members would get only one more delegate than a circle with 8 members. How this works has already been commented on in the columns of the Appeal.

3) In Cleveland, the Appeal recently won a majority of the League membership. Two of the three chartered circles had Appeal majorities, and were entitled to 4 out of the 5 delegates. The Clarity County Exec. transferred 3 people into one of the Appeal circles, one of whom had already voted in another city (Columbus), and attempted to disqualify comrade Frank Stern. Comrade Stern was able to find his membership book in time to expose the attempt, and to exact an apology. The circle, thoroughly sick of the Clarity maneuvers, become more solidly Appeal. In the second Appeal circle there was a similar attempt to disqualify two comrades.

4) In the Ithaca, New York (Cornell University) circle regular election had been held prior to the end of the school term. Two Appealites were elected. Because a single Clarityite inactive for a year, had not attended the meeting, Al Hamilton,

national secretary of the League, ordered a new, mail election without consulting the circle or regional organizers, and against the protest of the Regional Committee. Some of the summer addresses of circle members are unknown.

5) The Rochester circle with an active and paid-up membership sufficient to entitle it two delegates was told by the NEC that it was not entitled to delegates. Why? The delegates (who will be elected) will be left wingers.

Coast Delegation Cut

6) California with an active and growing membership of 200 has been informed that it may only elect delegates for 130 members. Not being a Clarity state, it did not have access to the National Office books and dues stamps. By now, it is possible that California which has registered more successes than any single section of the League in the last year will have been suspended by the NEC.

7) Chicago, with a membership of 190, has been told it may only send delegates for 120 members. Here, as in St. Paul, and other cities, our comrades did not have the "credit facilities" of the Clarity circles in the purchase of dues stamps.

8) Philadelphia was until recently wholly Clarityite. Our comrades have however made gains. The Philadelphia City Exec. has therefore transferred into the Temple University circle one of their henchmen who has never attended the school, but who may in the future do so (1). The transfer changes the balance in the circle.

9) Into a Newark circle, Irving Barshop, executive secretary of the New York League, transferred, without consulting any members of the New York Action Committee, a Clarityite who to this date still lives in New York. This may change the balance in that particular circle.

10) The now famous and scandalous Barshop letter to Al Hamilton, suggesting the manipulation of dues records, and advising against reinstating the four Yipsels. Barshop has committed more breaches of democracy than this one flagrant act. He has constantly arrogated to himself an authority which he never possessed; e. g. he set voting days, without consulting the Committee and then after his motion was defeated in committee by a tie vote. We wished to delay the voting until a maximum of discussion might be arranged. In the whole pre-convention discussion period, there has been exactly one city-wide discussion meeting in New York—and that a fizzle.

It needs to be added, that the Appeal members, of the DEC, all of whom were elected by the largest single block of votes in the last election, were allowed but one district office, and that a holdover from the previous committee. A shining example of equal participation in League leadership!

11) Rescinding by a machine vote of the Clarity right wing majority on the DEC of a referendum on the four dropped Yipsels demanded by one third of the committee, according to the provisions of the Constitution. This perfectly outrageous act pretty nearly tops anything the Clarityites have done in the bureaucratic line. A referendum would have demonstrated who had the support of the League membership, and who had not.

The Politics of Gus Tyler

(Continued from page 7)

however, Tyler, the very left wing of the left wing of the Clarity group, remains true to type in the crisis. He is now the purveyor of arms and ammunition to Altman. In his caucus letter he wrote a few weeks ago, in contrast to his March article: "The latest trick of the Trotskyists—an attempt in my mind on the part of a top group to whip the rank and file into line—is to proceed recklessly to violate elementary discipline and then—when brought on charges—to cry: persecution! The existence of a real campaign of petty and major persecution preceding this, of course, gives the semblance (!) of truth to the new outcry.

cialist Party.

The Socialist Party members here assembled call upon the National Executive Committee to put an immediate stop to all expulsions; to restore to all expelled Party members their full Party rights; to provide for and insure full democratic expression on the issues facing the Party. In view of the crisis in the Party, in view of the deliberate distortion of National Convention mandates by the present National Executive Committee, as typified by its failure to issue an internal discussion Bulletin, or to abide by the Convention Resolution on the Peoples Front, we call upon the present National Executive Committee to issue a call within 30 days for a special emergency National Convention, with one of the items on the agenda of this Convention, to be the election of a new National Executive Committee.

Copies of this resolution are to be sent to the National Executive Committee and the Socialist Appeal.

Unanimously adopted.

Fraternally yours,

C. R. HEDLUND,

Chairman of meeting

KARL S. KUHEN,

Secretary of meeting

But how long can we tolerate this—especially when the perspective of the Trotskyists toward making a party of their own becomes ever clearer.

All that Altman has done is to give a prompt and vigorous reply to the question in Tyler's last sentence, by saying "We can tolerate it no longer", and to make use of Tyler's first sentence in order to justify the expulsions. What better function could Tyler perform for Altman than to make it possible for him to say: "Even Tyler, who is practically a Trotskyist, charges them with reckless violations of discipline. Tyler has asked me, Altman, how much longer I will tolerate this, and my answer is—not for another minute." And if this is the assistance given the right wing by the "most left" of the Clarity leaders, it is not hard to realize the role played by the other liberals who make no claim to being so "radical".

The pernicious part played in the party crisis by the rotten liberalism of the Clarity leadership—at once cover and prop of the right wing—is sometimes obscured for some observers by the indubitable fact that the centrists and right wingers are often at odds on many questions. They polemize against each other often enough, and sometimes raise their voices above the point of polite social intercourse. This is quite true. And even though, in concrete practice, their differences, as indicated above, do not prove to be of a fundamental nature, it is not at all out of the question that, given the present relationship of forces in the party, the right wing and the centrists will present the party with a second split—this time between themselves. We leave to another article an examination of the reasons for this impending split in the bloc of the right wing and the center and a consideration of the fatal, truly sectarian perspective which the Clarity leadership is now opening up to the followers of its political line.

The End of Henry Yagoda

Stalin Imprisons the Head of the G.P.U. Because He Knew the Inside Story

By Victor Serge

The vast police coup d'etat begun by Stalin last July in order to liquidate Bolshevism and to stabilize his personal regime continues, and each day brings its new surprise. It will soon be clear that the importance of this period of eighteen months is not inferior to that of a Thermidor combined with an Eighteenth Brumaire. The arrest of Yagoda is the sensation of the last few days. It even casts into the shade the arrest, which has firmly been confirmed, of Christian Rakowsky, and the rumors that Leon Sosnovsky, like General Putna, has been shot in prison without trial. (Sosnovsky, the brilliant Bolshevik journalist, was so greatly appreciated by Lenin that he made him his mouthpiece at the first pan-Russian Executive of the Soviets'. But nothing definite is known about this, and perhaps nothing ever will be known.

A Government communique,

signed by Kalinin, announced the accusation of Henry Grigorievitch Yagoda: Malfeasance in office, crimes committed in the course of the fulfilment of his functions... What functions? Yagoda is an old Bolshevik from before October, member of the Cheka; in 1923 he sympathized with the Right Opposition (Bukharin, Rykov), but not for long.

.... As head of the G.P.U. for many years he organized the repression against the technicians, against every opposition, in every sphere. Thousands of death warrants received his signature. He ruled the vastest concentration camps in the world—a position which gained him a decoration for the construction of the White Sea Baltic Canal, by convict labour.

He watched over Stalin, whom he was seen to follow step by step on ceremonial occasions.

Chief Commissar of the Criminal Police, People's Commissar for the Interior, member of the Central Committee of the Party, commander of the special troops of the G.P.U., he was in truth the most dreaded man in the U.S.S.R., the one whose conscience carried — by order — the heaviest burdens: Chief of Police to the "genial Leader." In this capacity he presided over the secret examinations (what horrible concoctions!) for the Zinoviev trial and over the execution of the sentences against the Sixteen. Immediately after the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Smirnov trial his disgrace became known.

A scape-goat was required to shoulder the responsibility of of this badly managed judicial comedy. Above all was it necessary to suppress Yagoda because

he had become, in his turn, an intolerably disturbing witness. He is accused. Everything can be blamed on him: he committed — by order — all the crimes that are required, and he could commit no worse or more unpardonable crime than to defend himself—for this could only be done by accusing others. He is irrevocably lost.

I picture him to myself in one of those cells in the Moscow prison of the G.P.U., which he himself had built, reading again the regulation which he signed, awaiting an examination, a judgment, an execution, the rites of which he knows by heart—understanding at last what he has done, what he has become, what those like him have made of the Revolution!

And I think also of Romain Rolland, who met him at Moscow and devoted to him such a hand-

some article. The great chief of the concentration camps and of those silent executioners in all the dungeons of the U.S.S.R. conquered at a stroke the heart of the author of Jean Christophe.

Is this not the occasion for Rolland to write a new article on Yagoda to try to save even this life—for is it not enough blood and too much cynicism on the part of the Master to attempt thus in broad daylight to suppress his servitors?

Already last September I wrote: "The whole generation of October is condemned. Finished. Lost. Every one strangled in a trap. The few last survivors of the old Bolshevik cadres—the Litvinovs, Krestinskys, Bubnovs, Antonov-Ovseenkos — are also condemned, in the same way or by others means. Their existence has become incompatible with that of the regime."

Yipsels Remain True to Revolutionary Tradition

By Hal Draper

"The Yipsels show in advance what the party will be like a year from now"—that is what the left wing Yipsels used to boast during the last few years, when each advance of the party to the left was presaged and prepared by a similar movement among the youth. In the fight against the first Old Guard, the YPSL was won soonest, and became a powerful lever in swinging the party.

Today too the national YPSL belongs to the left wing. And this is one of the reasons why the Right wing entered upon its present desperate campaign to split and liquidate the party before the left wing gains a majority. It is also one of the surest indications that the Appeal group is the heir and continuator of the best left wing traditions of the movement.

Majority with Appeal

An overwhelming majority of the YPSL supports the left wing Appeal group. Here is a quick survey of the national situation.

(1) Out of approximately 1200 members, we have at least 800. And as usual, the percentage is much more on the basis of active membership only.

(2) Almost all leading cities and states are ours: California, with about 200 members, among whom the non-Appealites can be counted on two hands; Ohio; Massachusetts; Chicago; upstate New York; eastern Pennsylvania; Newark. In New York City, Appeal is the largest group, larger than Clarity, but not a majority, having received 41 per cent of the vote in the city election held last May. In Philadelphia, steady gains are being made.

(3) Virtually only Appeal cities and states have registered growth in numbers, in activity and mass influence. California has grown in the last year, under Appeal leadership, from two circles to ten or more, with inspiring work especially among the agricultural workers. Chicago's membership has actually doubled under Appeal control. Meanwhile the Clarity centers at: Pittsburgh, the only important Clarity city outside of New York and Philadelphia, is a good example of this.

And the little-tin-soldier lead-

ers of Clarity pretend that they are the mass-workers while we are.... sectarians!

Clarity however controls the NEC (elected two years ago) and the national machinery; and like the capitalist class, they are determined that the Left shall not win legally. Panicky, they are resorting to every shady trick to keep a formal majority at the coming National Convention in September.

Shady Clarity Devices

(1) The NEC shifted the place of the convention from the mid-West (Ohio or Chicago) to Philadelphia, which is a Clarity city and all the way East, thus making it more difficult to send delegates from the Appeal centers in the West.

(2) The basis of representation is nothing short of weird: one delegate for 5 members, two for 8, three for 23. The exact effect of this is uncertain at present.

(3) The books were closed for dues payments counting towards convention representation on May 30, when the convention call was issued by the NEC, without any previous drive for paying up. All that was done was to insert a notice in YPSL Affairs, which goes only to leading comrades. At the same time, circles were allowed to purchase stamps on credit up to May 30, even though they paid at any later time. The result is that many places will not be fully represented because they were not given a chance to make a drive; and the Clarity National Office can use the credit provisions to jack up the representation of Clarity circles by bookkeeping transactions.

(4) That Clarity is using such crooked measures to steal the convention has been proved through a private letter which came to light in New York, from Irving Barshop, New York Executive Secretary, to Al Hamilton. It shows, first, utilization of Altman's split campaign in New York to get rid of Appealites in strategic circles where their vote and influence would count; and second, direct falsification of League records to increase Clarity representation. One can assume that this practise was not limited to New York.

Expulsions Begin in New York

In New York the Clarity-Right wing bloc in control of the YPSL has recently been conducting as real a split campaign as has Altman in the party. When four Yipsel applicants for the party were rejected as "Trotskyites" (two of them with the consent of two Clarityites on the party Executive), the YPSL Clarityites illegally dropped them from the League also, because "Altman demands it". All posts are being denied Appealites. Unprecedented flimsy charges have been brought against Appealite Executive Committee members. The latest move was the expulsion of Comrade Bergner, who recently broke with Clarity on uncovering the letter referred to above and preferred charges against Barshop. The charges against Barshop were not taken up, but instead Bergner was illegally expelled with no quorum present!

These crooked dealings and provocative attacks on the left wing have so far resulted only in the resignation of a group of members from the YPSL Clarity caucus in New York.

What stands out above all is: if the three-way split which Clarity so desires takes place, there will be no youth organization left but ours. Clarity (and, it goes without saying, Altman) will not be able to salvage enough from their wreckage to maintain a pretense of an organization. The YPSL will continue its traditional custom of going with the left.

A New Wave of Terror against German Trotskyism

A good illustration for the Stalinist statements about the "traitors and gestapo agents of the 4th International" are the recent trials before the so-called "People Courts".

The "people court" in Hamburg sentenced our comrades as follows:

Hans Breuer, 6 years hard labor; Herbert G., 5 years hard labor; Hans Tapet, 3 1-2 year hard labor; Walter B., 2 1-2 year prison; Frieda Helbe, 2 years prison.

In a few days several other comrades will face the "People Court" of Berlin and Magdeburg.

We have just received the information that one of our leading comrades in Berlin was sentenced to 8 years of hard labor.

What Norman Thomas Saw in Barcelona

On May 3-7 the workers raised barricades in Barcelona to defend themselves against the counter-revolutionary offensive of the bourgeois-Stalinist bloc. The "agreement" to end the conflict proved to be a complete victory for the counter-revolution. During the next weeks, armed police by the thousands were sent into Catalonia to disarm and oppress the workingclass; the Madrid regime treated Catalonia like a conquered province.

In the midst of the repressions, on May 23, Norman Thomas arrived in Barcelona. Did he talk to any of the workers who had defended themselves on the barricades? Did he talk to the CNT-POUM leaders? Did he talk to anybody except the bourgeois-Stalinist government leaders in Barcelona? He did not!

Yet he had the gall to come back and condemn the workers for "insurrecting." The profound investigations on which Thomas based his conclusions may be surmised from reading the following account of his two-day visit, officially issued on May 26th by the Commissariat of Propaganda of the Generalitat.

GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA Presidencia

Comissariat de Propaganda
Avinguda 14 d'Abril, 442 bis
Barcelona: Telefon 82215
COMUNICAT DE PREMSA
English Edition Number 206
Barcelona, May 26

Distinguished Visitors

The President of the Socialist Party of the United States, Mr. Norman Thomas, who has been several times a candidate for the Presidency of his country, has just spent two very busy days in Barcelona, accompanied by Mrs. Thomas, who goes with him on all his travels.

Mr. Thomas, who has been visiting various European countries, had expected to devote more time to Spain, a country which he had not previously visited, but the "red tape" which had to be untangled before he was permitted to leave France by the southern border delayed and in consequence considerably shortened his journey.

On Sunday, May 23rd, the first day of their visit to Spain, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, escorted by

the Commissioner of Propaganda of the Generalitat of Catalonia, Jaume Miravittles, visited the refugees now accommodated in the great Stadium of Montjuich, as well as the school for refugee children installed in the former monastery of Pedralbes, on both of which Mr. Thomas commented with admiration. Later he spoke on the radio a few words of encouragement to the forces of the Spanish Government, and afterwards viewed by moonlight the beautiful Generalitat Palace and its fourteenth-century Courtyard of the Oranges.

The following day Mr. Thomas was officially received, at the Palace, by President Louis Companys, who made him welcome with a speech expressing the thanks of the Government for the help given to the cause of the Spanish people by the people of the United States. Mrs. Thomas was presented with a bouquet tied with a ribbon in the colours of Catalonia's ancient flag, whose legend was explained to her.

In the afternoon of the same day Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, at the invitation of President Companys, visited the picturesque mountain of Montserrat, where they were shown through the enormous buildings of the former monastery, and later joined in drinking a toast to Catalonia and to the other democratic governments of the world.

Early on Tuesday morning the distinguished visitors left by car for Valencia, where they will be received by the President of Spain and members of the Government, and shown the work which is being done in the temporary capital of the Spanish Republic.

Half-Rate on Trial Book

A special edition, for workers at half the regular price, of the "Case of Leon Trotsky", verbatim report of the hearings held from April 10 to 17 in Mexico City by the Dewey Commission of Inquiry, has just been announced by the American Committee for Defense of Leon Trotsky.

Only 2,000 copies are available at half-price. They will be sold only on advance order, with payment. Orders should be sent immediately to the American Committee, Room 1435, 22 East 17 Street, New York City.

Left Wing Will Not Allow Itself to Be -

Declaration by Albert Goldman for the Left Wing at the Chicago -

Comrades:

It would be idle to deny that we are approaching a very serious crisis in the life of our party, a crisis from which the party might emerge a complete wreck. A short while ago the Old Guard, composed of the most intransigent reformist elements, left the party but that only strengthened the party. We are confronted at present with a different situation, a situation which can be characterized as the beginning of an expulsion drive of the left wing section of the party. While the exodus of the Old Guard left the party free to develop in a revolutionary direction, the expulsion of the revolutionary left can serve the interests only of the Stalinists and the Farmer-Laborites.

A dispassionate consideration of all the factors involved in the present party situation, a willingness to face reality and a fearless determination to compel the right wing of the party and its allies, the centrists of the Clarity wing, to rescind the decisions that threaten to bring bitterness and chaos into the life of the party, might induce the NEC to retreat from its untenable position and thus save the party from the convulsions that are almost inevitable if the NEC persists in its reactionary course.

What led the NEC to pass this gag resolution; what were the factors that caused the NEC to take a step which is unauthorized by the party constitution or the decisions of the last or any other convention, which is in violation of all traditions of party democracy? I shall not go back further than the Chicago convention in order to enumerate the factors leading to the well-nigh fatal resolution, on the high fatal resolution, on the

Convention Did not Settle Problems

It was clear to any intelligent observer familiar with the political currents existing in the party that the Chicago convention held in the latter part of March did not succeed in bringing harmony into the party. The gap dividing the revolutionary left from the various types of reformists was not bridged because it could not be bridged. Between the Wisconsin type of municipal socialists and the Stalinist type of reformism and the social-service brand of socialism—all of them representing the right wing—on the one hand and the revolutionary Marxists on the other hand, there could be no ideological peace. While at the convention the struggle between the combined right wing and the revolutionists did not come to a head it was clear that the convention did not resolve that struggle. Both sides left the convention with the feeling that the fight was to continue.

To expel the so-called Trotskyists was the aim of the right wing. Since that objective was not attained it can be said that the right wing suffered a defeat. Nevertheless the right wing won a major success and the left received a stunning blow through the suppression of the organ of the Appeal group. It is true that the delegates representing the Appeal group "consented" to the suppression of the Appeal but that "consent" came only as a result of the fact that they were in a small minority and they did not want to create any bitterness which would stand in the way of the peaceful penetration of their ideas amongst the ranks of the party.

To us the suppression of the Appeal was a tremendous blow

because we revolutionary Socialists depend on our ideas to win a majority of the party to our side. Every other group depends upon the political backwardness of the party ranks—that is also true of the centrist Clarity group—whereas the revolutionary Marxists can expect no victories without educating the party membership in their ideas. For us a paper to spread our ideas is indispensable but we were willing to be deprived of it in the hope that we could do our educational work by word of mouth.

And now the NEC wants to take our right of educating the party members by word of mouth away from us. And that without any decision of a convention.

New NEC Unable to Weather Storm

The centrists or Clarityites obtained a majority on the NEC. That fact left the impression that the party could go ahead on a fairly even keel, under the leadership of a group that had control of the party machinery. No one of course expected that the party ship would sail along without encountering any storms; they were inevitable both from the right and the left but since the centrists had a safe majority they could easily weather the storms. So at least it appeared on the surface.

A closer analysis of the centrist majority in control of the NEC could easily reveal the cracks and fissures in that majority. The more competent observers predicted that these who were nominally in control of the NEC would be unable, in any serious crisis, to hold the reins tight and furnish firm and confident leadership. The Clarityite majority was too heterogeneous, too weak and vacillating, lacking in experience and ability, and above all without any firm Marxian foundation, to chart an independent course. A constant shifting from left to right and from right to left, a straddling of fundamental issues was to be expected from a group whose main stock in trade was an ability or a supposed ability to maneuver and horse-trade.

Our Forecasts Justified

The period immediately following the convention proved both of our major premises. One, that the ideological struggle between left and right was bound to continue and, two, that the centrist majority on the NEC would be helpless in any serious situation.

No resolution on Spain was passed at the convention; the arrangements were so bad that the most important problem before the convention was left unsettled. The NEC took it upon itself to formulate a resolution on Spain. It was a typically centrist resolution—"on the one hand and on the other hand". It characterized the Caballero government as a provisional revolutionary regime, uttered pious hopes about the necessity for going forward to socialism and in effect gave political support to the Popular Front regime.

The left wing was outraged at the resolution. It began a strenu-

ous and systematic campaign throughout the party against it and the campaign met with great success. The success of that campaign infuriated the Stalinist section of the right wing led by Altman and scared the centrists.

Spanish Events Intrude

Events were unkind to the centrists. The ink on the Spanish resolution was hardly dry when the Barcelona workers were compelled to take up arms against the attempt of the Popular Front government to disarm them. The revolutionary left, although in political disagreement with both the anarchists and the P.O.U.M., supported them unconditionally against the counter-revolutionary attack of the Popular Front. The right wing defended the Popular Front; the centrists regretted the action of both the government and the workers of Barcelona.

We of the left wing had no hesitation whatsoever to give our support to the Barcelona workers. Long before the Call published articles on these events which showed that the aggressors were the parties of the Popular Front Government we characterized the events correctly. Not because we had any more information on the subject but because we had been following events in Spain from a revolutionary Marxist viewpoint.

Again the revolutionary Socialists started a campaign and again we were successful. It goes without saying that a revolutionary Socialist could never keep quiet when revolutionary workers are being murdered by Stalinist and right wing Socialist butchers. We would be betraying the cause of revolutionary Socialism by our silence.

Around the question of the Spanish events the struggle became bitter, especially in New York. It is natural that in those sections of the party where Stalinist ideas are strongest the fight against the revolutionary left is most bitter. I do not claim that Altman belongs to the Stalinist organization. I do claim that in practice his political line is a Stalinist one. His friendliness to the C. P. is notorious as well as the fact that the C. P. never attacks him in its press. While in his political line he is Stalinist, in the inner party regime he has shown himself to be on the same plane as the Old Guard. The same maneuvers and the same tricks characterize his attacks as characterized those of the Old Guard. In his determination not to permit the left wing any opportunity to present its views and in his petty tactics to achieve the expulsion of the left wing he is not a whit inferior to the Old Guard.

Before the Chicago convention Altman undoubtedly favored the expulsion of the revolutionary wing of the party but he dared not raise the question openly. But after the left began its campaign on the Spanish resolution Altman and his followers no longer concealed their intentions. An insistent clamor came from them for the expulsion of the "Trotskyists".

Norman Thomas' Attitude

Nothing helped the Altmanites in their campaign for the expulsion of the left wingers as much as the attitude of Norman Thomas upon his return from Europe. Thomas' attitude on the question of Spain was never very clear.

Just as his attitude on every crucial question is never very clear. His visit to Spain where he was the guest of leading figures of the Popular Front Government led him to come out more openly in favor of that government and to become far more critical of the revolutionists who were in opposition to the Loyalist government. His attitude to the workers of Barcelona who defended their right to bear arms showed clearly that in a crisis he would place himself in the ranks of those who are against the revolution.

No sooner did Thomas return from Europe than it became clear that his influence would be thrown in favor of Altman's campaign for the expulsion of the left. I presume he felt there was no room in one party between half-hearted defenders of the Spanish assassins of the revolutionary workers and the bitter enemies of these assassins.

A factor of great importance in the events that led to the NEC gag resolution is the attitude of Wisconsin. There the party is to the right of social democracy. It was only an accident that caused Wisconsin to remain in the party instead of leaving with the Old Guard. With its comparatively large number of dues-paying members Wisconsin could always demand a price for remaining in the party. The centrists were at all times willing to pay that price.

The Hypocrisy of Krueger

You have heard comrade Krueger in his speech here make a firm statement with reference to his attitude to Wisconsin, to Altman and to the revolutionary left. Krueger is impartial and intends to keep all groups under control. What hypocrisy there is in that statement! Krueger, at this meeting, can talk big to Wisconsin and Altman but his real attitude to them is one of pleading and belly-crawling. It is only towards the left that he is really capable of turning a hard and ruthless first. That is characteristic of all centrists: a threatening voice and a soft hand to the right, blows in the face for the left.

When Wisconsin showed dissatisfaction with the policy of the party on the C.I.O.—A. F. of L. struggle an agreement was reached that Wisconsin can interpret that policy to suit its own convenience. And undoubtedly Wisconsin's threats to leave the party, unless the left was curbed, had a great deal to do with the adoption of the NEC gag resolution. To appease Wisconsin and to assure its remaining in the party the centrists were willing to muzzle the left. Between Wisconsin and the left wing the centrists choose Wisconsin.

The demoralization of the party under centrist leadership contributed a great deal to the decision of the centrists to muzzle the left wing. They who talk so much about activity and accuse the left of consisting of mere theorists have not shown the least capacity to mobilize the party for any activity. It is really ridiculous to hear Krueger accuse us of inactivity. As against Krueger himself the most inactive comrade of the left is tremendously active. But leave Krueger out. Take all those present at this meeting. I thought I knew the party comrades fairly well. But it is surprising to see so many whom I do not recognize. The dead-wood of the Clarityites far outnumber the deadwood of the Appealites.

The stay-at-home Socialists are here ready to vote against the left.

Bankruptcy of National Office

What campaign did the National Office start since the convention? Did it attempt to mobilize the party membership on the great questions of the day on Spain, on the events in Russia, on the CIO strikes? The only activity that one is conscious of as emanating from the National Office is the drive to re-register the members. Now that in itself is not harmful but one can hardly escape the conclusion that the re-registration was decided upon because the party leadership did not know what else to do and hoped that by some miracle the re-registration would catapult the party into activity. I must also note the small shopkeeper method of raising funds by charging ten cents for every registration.

The centrist leadership was all too anxious to place the blame for its own inability to furnish leadership upon the shoulders of the left wingers whom the centrists accused of devoting too much time to inner-party discussion.

Let me recapitulate the factors which led the NEC, in desperation perhaps, to look for a solution in muzzling the left wing.

1. The profound differences in principle between the right wing of the party, composed of the Altmanites, Wisconsin and the social worker type following Thomas, on the one hand, and the revolutionary left, on the other.
2. The serious turn of events in Spain, the successful campaign of the left on the Spanish issue.
3. The bitter hostility of Altman against the left especially on the Spanish issue. The return of Thomas from Spain and his alliance with Altman.
4. The threat of Wisconsin to leave the party.
5. The demoralization of the party ranks immediately following the convention, under the leadership of the centrists.

It is an indication of the type of leadership we have in the party that it sought a solution for the difficulties confronting it in a gag resolution. If an intelligent leadership finds a substantial proportion of the membership in opposition to its policies it attempts either to convince the membership through argument or to isolate the minority by consolidating the majority around correct policies. People who cannot cope with the arguments of a minority have recourse to administrative measures even before any discussion and especially when they see the minority gaining ground. The centrist leadership did not attempt to argue with the left wing minority (actually the left wing represents a majority of the active membership); spurred on by the right, the centrists found their solution in the gag resolution. The force that joined the centrists with the right wing was fear of the left.

The Heart of the Gag-Law

The heart of the NEC resolution is contained in the following sentences: "All campaigns in the party against party decisions, policies or institutions must be halted immediately." "While the present reorganization is going on, members are requested to suspend organized attempts to apply pressure for changes of policy and for the initiation of

- Gagged by the Party Bureaucracy!

- Membership Meeting in a Reply to Maynard Krueger's Threats

new policy." "No campaigns against the decisions are allowable and those decisions are to take immediate effect."

Now the decisions say nothing about the left wing. From a strictly legal viewpoint they apply to Wisconsin, to Altman as well as to the left wing. And comrade Krueger went to great lengths to emphasize that point. But in effect the only ones against whom the decision will operate will be the left wingers. First because they are the only ones interested in carrying out a campaign among the members on questions of policy and second because the right wing will use the decisions as a pretext to expel the left wing.

Comrade Krueger told you how insistent Wisconsin was in its attempt to induce the NEC to change or modify the convention resolutions on war and trade unionism. What does that mean in actuality? Did Wisconsin carry on a campaign among the general membership of the party with the purpose of convincing the membership that the convention resolution was wrong and that a new one was necessary? Needless to say that is not the method of Wisconsin. What the Socialists from Milwaukee did was to whisper in Krueger's ear that a change is necessary in these resolutions or else... and the "or-else" meant a threat. And I am quite sure that Krueger told the Wisconsinites not to worry, that everything would go along smoothly.

The revolutionary left operates in quite a different manner. If it is dissatisfied with any resolution or decision it immediately appeals to the membership; it carries on an agitation amongst the ranks in order to convince a majority of the correctness of its viewpoint. It is because the left wing carries on an agitation in the open, educating and convincing the membership, that the party leadership was so anxious to muzzle it.

Krueger Creates Straw Men

Here I want to mention something that is of great importance in showing that the NEC is trying to becloud the issue. Krueger spoke about the campaign of Wisconsin to change convention resolutions and decisions. And he thundered that neither Wisconsin nor Cannon, Shachtman and Goldman would be permitted to carry on an agitation for changing convention resolutions and decisions. It is so easy to create a straw man and then proceed to demolish him.

Let me ask comrade Krueger: what convention resolutions or decisions have we been campaigning against? Let him name one. Not that we particularly like all of the resolutions and decisions passed at the convention and not that we think it is criminal to carry on an agitation against them. But the fact is that we have not said or done anything about any of the convention decisions or resolutions. On the contrary, we claim, and I think with some justification, that the NEC has violated the convention resolution on the People's Front. Certainly the NEC has flagrantly violated the convention decision on the publication of an inner party organ.

Did not the convention decide that an inner party organ be published where all groups would find space for its articles? More than three months passed and not a trace of such an organ.

Why? Because money is lacking, will be the answer of those responsible. But that answer shows how little the leadership is able to evoke sufficient enthusiasm amongst the membership so that money can be raised to publish necessary papers. But I suspect that it is not so much the lack of money as it is an indifference to a real discussion on vital problems and a fear that in any discussion the left wing will be most persuasive.

If there has been any violation of convention decisions it has been by the NEC and not by the left wing.

The Left Wing Has Been Disciplined

I want to emphasize the fact that it is not a crime to be opposed to a convention resolution and to carry on a theoretical discussion against such a resolution. In a revolutionary party where democratic procedure necessarily prevails there will always be discussion on all convention resolutions; what will be demanded of the minority is that it does not act contrary to any convention decision. I defy anyone to point out one instance where the left wing has acted contrary to any convention resolution.

What is in question is not a campaign against convention resolutions but against NEC resolutions on fundamental problems. Is the NEC resolution on Spain a convention decision? Is the NEC gag resolution a convention decision? Not by any stretch of the imagination!

By what authority has the NEC decided that its resolutions and decisions are to be immune from criticism by the membership? Such a doctrine would mean that an NEC could violate all the fundamental principles of socialism with impunity. Such a doctrine would transform the party into a Stalinist monolithic party and that of course would mean the death of the party as a revolutionary force in the labor movement.

The NEC will be compelled to deal with many new and important problems and if the principle were to be recognized that it can decide on all problems regardless of the opinions of the membership then the party simply becomes an instrument to execute the decisions of the NEC. A revolutionary Socialist, any kind of Socialist with an independent mind, cannot accept such a perverted view of the nature of the authority of the NEC in a socialist party.

The Question of Mass Work

According to the resolution itself it is motivated by a desire on the part of the NEC to have the party turn its face to the masses and to carry out the decisions of the convention. Let us analyze these concepts.

No one can possibly object to the necessity of doing mass work. The party leadership connects that necessity with and makes that work dependent upon a cessation of inner party discussion, or better, of any campaign against NEC decisions. At the present moment there are three fundamental problems around which the party should conduct a campaign both amongst its members and its sympathizers as well as amongst the workers in general. They are: the Spanish struggle, the slaughter of the revolutionary forces in Russia and the great battles of the

C.I.O. in this country. Upon all of these problems there are serious differences of opinion and it stands to reason that no mass work can be done without first convincing the membership of the correctness of the NEC policies on these fundamental questions. What shall we tell the masses; around what ideas shall we mobilize them? Around the ideas of the NEC, according to the party leadership. What role should the party play in such a mobilization? That of mere followers. Such a concept can never set the party into activity and in fact the decisions of the NEC will prove that far from mobilizing the members for active work it will paralyze the party and no work will result.

It is because the NEC does not want the revolutionary viewpoint upon the important problems confronting us to prevail that the gag resolution was promulgated. The NEC, to cover up its inability to furnish any leadership, simply enters an order that mass work be done without attempting to win the party members over to its conception of mass work, assuming that it has any kind of conception on that subject.

In Activity We Yield to No-one

Once more I want to label the statement made by our opponents that the revolutionary left wants to make of the party a mere debating society as a complete falsehood. Need I mention the fact that there are party members active in Indiana Harbor in the steel strike? And all of them are members of the Appeal tendency. Take the Appeal group as a whole and take any other group in the party and it will be readily ascertained that amongst the Appeal group there is a much larger proportion of activists. Not that I am satisfied. I recognize our weaknesses but I say that our group is much stronger from the point of view of participation in the class struggle than any other group. The difference is that we insist on having our activity based on revolutionary theory.

Nor is the contention that we must now carry out the convention decisions any more correct than the cry that we must do mass work and not discuss. One does not and cannot carry out a convention resolution by repeating the words of the resolution. A resolution can be carried out only by applying its principles to the events of the day. A resolution indicates a general policy and direction and it is up to the leadership to apply that resolution correctly. And should something occur which is not covered by any resolution, should the NEC refrain from taking opposition on it? Of course not. It must take the best position it knows how and then be ready to defend it before the membership. At the time of the convention no one knew that events in Barcelona would take such a sharp turn. The NEC was nevertheless obligated to formulate a correct attitude on those events and the membership is justified in criticizing the incorrect attitude of the NEC.

But would we not be constantly arguing and thus prevent the doing of any work? Even granting that there would be considerable discussion and even granting that such discussion would interfere with activity, still there is no way to escape it. But it is absurd to contend that

discussion interferes with activity to such an extent that it should be abolished. What activity on Spain would there be if there were no discussion? Activities can result, in the long run, from correct policies and not from a prohibition of discussion.

The method chosen by the NEC to develop activity shows its inability to grasp the necessity of convincing the membership. Ideologically, I repeat, if the NEC finds a substantial number opposed to its policies it must either revise them or be prepared to show the majority that its policies are correct and thus isolate the minority if it persists in its opposition too long. There is no other way for a party to function. A party develops in struggle—participation in the struggle of the workers, struggle against opponent parties, struggle within its own ranks. He who fears the struggle must step out of the revolutionary movement.

The sections of the resolution dealing with the support of the Call, the regulation of meetings and of the sale of literature are not in themselves bad but indicate the same tendency to settle problems by command. Take the question of the Call. It seems to me that if I were in the leadership of the party and the party organ would not be supported I would either change the nature of the organ or educate the party membership to the correctness of the organ's policy. But that is asking a little too much from the present leadership. I know only that obedience is due it and it must obtain such obedience by decree. No one questions the right of the NEC to ask that meetings be organized for the purpose of explaining the policy to the members. But it has gone further and practically ordered that no meetings be held except when it calls for them. If any one is acquainted with the Stalinist "enlightenment" campaigns he can see that the NEC has copied another leaf from the book of Stalinist monolithism.

Towards an Index Prohibitorum

The decision on regulating the sale of literature is obviously intended to prevent the revolutionary wing of the party from selling Trotsky's books and pamphlets. What pettiness! Soon we shall have an Index Prohibitorum.

What will be the effect of this foolhardy, undemocratic resolution? Should it actually be carried into practice the end of the party as a living force can be predicted with certainty. The communist movement can afford to be monolithic; its reformism and its intolerance of opposition weakens it somewhat but the effect is not visible. One of the inducements for workers to join the S. P. must be its democratic procedure; to it must be attracted all the independent revolutionary spirits. It is the freedom of discussion within the party that makes a revolutionizing of the party possible. Destroy that and you have simply a vest-pocket edition of the Communist Party. As such there is no place for it because it can have no historic function.

I do not think that the resolution of the NEC can be realized in practice. It is contrary to the constitution, the resolution and the traditions of the party. Here and there expulsions will result, especially in New York where Altman will use the resolution as a pretext to get rid of left

wingers. I do not think that a revolutionary Socialist can accept such a resolution. Is it conceivable that a revolutionary Socialist can keep quiet on the important struggles of the working class and on decisions of the NEC which violate all concepts of democratic procedure? I am not advocating a wholesale defiance of the NEC; I am just predicting that the NEC will have to expel every revolutionary Socialist from the party. In other words the NEC will have to destroy the party in order to compel a strict observance of its decisions.

Strictly construed this meeting is a violation of the decisions; strictly construed any attempt to initiate a referendum will be a violation of the decisions. Of necessity we shall institute a referendum and carry on a campaign in favor of rejecting the NEC decisions. Will that be construed a violation? I shall wait for the NEC to reply. If it will, then it means that the NEC is determined to split the party; it can mean nothing else.

Appeal's Proposals For the Crisis

What do we of the Appeal group suggest and demand in order to avoid the catastrophe that is being threatened by the NEC resolution? We demand the restoration of party democracy which means the immediate rescinding of the NEC resolution. We demand the execution of the convention decision providing for an inner party organ where we can present our viewpoint. The delegates representing the Appeal viewpoint were induced to agree to the suspension of the Appeal on the promise that an internal party organ would be published. The failure of the NEC to provide for such an organ justifies us in resuming publication of the Appeal. We demand further that no expulsions of left wingers be tolerated. If the NEC fails to take drastic action to stop Altman from suspending or expelling left wingers, it will be conclusive proof that the NEC is intending to split the party. No arguments of a technical nature will help the situation. At least the NEC must come out with a blast against those who are expelling comrades and refuse to recognize the expulsions because in reality the expulsions are for the purpose of destroying the left wing movement.

These demands are the minimum for the restoration of peace in the party, for the creation of an atmosphere where the left wing feels itself free to work for the revolutionizing of the party. If they are not granted then the onus for the chaotic conditions bound to ensue will rest upon the NEC.

Are these demands so unreasonable? Is it unreasonable to ask for democracy and freedom of discussion? Is it unreasonable that the NEC be asked to live up to the decision of the convention providing for an inner party organ? Is it unreasonable to ask for a stop to expulsions? To ask these questions is to answer them. All comrades of whatever viewpoint should endorse these reasonable demands. To build the party into a revolutionary instrument it is necessary to have freedom to propagate the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. And these ideas and the right to present them, the comrades of the Appeal group will never surrender.

'Clarity' Splits New York Yipsels

Join with Right Wing to Expel 11 Revolutionists

(Continued from page 1)
tion organ, the Socialist Call of today. Clarity had a dual motive: —to carry out Altman's campaign where Altman could not himself wage it; to scotch a left wing majority at the National Convention of the YPSL.

When the Clarity-right wing bloc dropped the four Yipsels from League membership on Altman's demand after they had been rejected for Party membership, it set a precedent for illegal actions of this kind. However, the same formula could not be used in the instance of those who had been expelled from the Party by the Altman machine. Altman had stepped brutally upon Clarity's bunions in order to guarantee his two-thirds majority, and the Clarity caucus had cried out in pain that the expulsion was an illegal act, and not to be recognized by the Party membership. Though a section of the Clarity caucus, as revealed elsewhere in this issue, favored a change in its position on the expulsions, a majority prevailed against. But expel the left from the YPSL they must. Altman demands it. Clarity itself demanded it in the interest of security by hook and by crook an anti-Appeal majority at the National Convention.

Whole Left Wing Involved

A meeting of the DEC called for August 13 was deliberately sabotaged by Clarity. A formula had not as yet been found. That formula was discovered at a stormy session of the Clarity caucus on August 16. Charges involving every single Appealite, and many who are not members of the Appeal, were presented against the eleven on August 17, with a supplementary list held in abeyance for one week. On August 20 the expulsion vote was cast. Hardly a day wasted!

Thus, it can no longer be said that Clarity is moving towards a split. More correctly, Clarity, with its right wing ballast, has split the YPSL. The attempted expulsion, for it can only be an attempt to expel the League majority, dimaxes a series of crimes against League democracy which would require columns to detail. Beginning with a vicious inner-caucus document directed against the Appeal, some five or six months ago, Clarity has committed repeated acts of bureaucratic violence against the Appeal youth group, and consequently against the overwhelming bulk of the national League membership. These acts comprise

in their totality a veritable Black Book. In many instances, so desperate is their anti-left wing campaign, they have shamed Altman with their methods. Not even Altman would have dared to rescind out of hand a referendum that been constitutionally demanded on the dropping of the four Yipsels.

Their methods are air-tight. First, they try to expel 200 or more members of the New York League. Next, they plan to suspend the whole state of California, which it undoubtedly will now that the California Party has been suspended. Between times they use their control of the apparatus to inflate their support. They cheat, or try to, one circle after another out of its proper representation. Then they come to the national convention, "confident" of a majority—if they can first guarantee the support of the right by taking severe enough measures against the left. Finally, they delude themselves with the vain hope that the Appealites, will be damn fools and revolutionary weaklings who do not utter a word of protest.

How they reckon without their host! Behind the Appeal stands the nation League membership. As daily the revolutionary elements in Clarity's ranks, disgusted with the capitulatory antics of its caucus leadership, join hands with the Appeal, that majority becomes more crushing. No more than the left wing tolerated disruptive tactics of the New York DEC, will the national League membership abide the machinations of the Clarity-right wing caucus. Expel, cheat, lie as that combination may, the League membership will be represented in Philadelphia in its proper proportions. And its revolutionary will will be done.

California...New York

The National Executive Committee, without even asking the left wing of California to state its side of the case in reply to the wretched falsehoods of Rodgers, has just voted (with the Clarity and Right wing leaders combined, as usual) to grant the Rodgers demand and to suspend the charter of the California state organization. An NEC sub-committee is being sent to California to "reorganize the party". It goes without saying that the left wing in that state will fight tooth and nail against this brazen usurpation and split move of the desperate Clarity leadership, which has lost the last shadow of support among the active membership in the party and youth organization.

Softness toward Right Wing

In significant contrast to the brutal decision against California, amounting to a condemnation of the left wing without a pretense of a hearing and showing that the Zam-Tyler-Delson group is capable of out-Altmaning Altman, is the decision of the NEC with regard to the New York situation. In spite of the flagrant violation of party line and constitution by the right wing administration, in spite of the sell-out virtually consummated by Altman and Thomas to the

Ohio Youth Votes Solidly with Left Wing

By Robert Stiler

An overwhelming victory for the Revolutionary Socialists was won at the State Convention of the Ohio YPSL held in Cleveland last Sunday, August 15th. Out of a total of sixteen delegates Clarity was represented by two. The convention demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that 90 per cent of the membership in the league in Ohio actively supported the political positions of the Appeal.

At the opening of the convention Clarity stated that any discussion on political questions would be futile since Appeal had an overwhelming majority, and asked the convention to limit itself to organizational questions. The Appealites pointed out that the party and the Youth was facing a crisis because of political questions and that it was the duty of every YPSL member to actively intervene in the struggle. The desire of Clarity to limit the convention to organizational questions at this time showed conclusively the political bankruptcy of the Clarity brand of centrism. However, even on this question Clarity could not remain consistent. When the political resolutions were offered Clarity did participate in discussion and suffered a decisive defeat on every political question before the convention.

A resolution calling for the Fourth International was passed with the two Clarityites voting against. After analyzing the current world situation and the bankruptcy of the existing international the resolution concluded in the following manner: "The appraisal of the past experience of the working class, the present crisis, and the perspective for the future, lead thus to the conclusion of the inescapable and immediate need for the regroupment of the revolutionary forces,

and the building of a new, Fourth International, based upon the principles, strategy and tactics of Revolutionary Marxism". The Clarityites in their usual attempt to circumvent any political questions, stated that they were for the Fourth International—but not at this time.

A resolution vigorously condemning the Right wing of the Party for splitting the S. P. and sharply criticizing the Clarityites for aiding the Right wing was passed with the two Clarityites voting against. The resolution also called upon all YPSLers to solidarize themselves with the expelled comrades of the Left wing and strongly condemned the attempts of Clarity to gerrymander the majority at the forthcoming convention of the YPSL.

On the American Youth Congress question the Clarityites voted against a resolution which called for a break with the reactionary, patriotic AYPC. The resolution passed with the Clarityites voting against. After the resolution on the AYPC the following motion was presented: "We demand that the NEC immediately issue an ultimatum to

the AYC stating that unless the following is done by the National Council of the AYC the YPSL shall withdraw its delegate to the National Council:

1. Repudiate and refuse to seat the delegates of the Italian-American civic league.
2. Repudiate invitations extended by Carey to other fascist organizations.
3. Withdraw the resolution against armed insurrection, repudiate the impartial aid to Spain and issue a clear statement that we are only in favor of aid to the Spanish anti-fascists.
4. Remove Governor Hoffman and all other anti-labor names from the sponsors list of the congress.

In spite of the convention of Clarity they could not deny the necessity of these demands. They passed unanimously.

The revolutionary Socialist position on the Role of the YPSL was passed as was a statement solidarizing ourselves with the Fourth Internationalists in Spain.

A regional committee of seven members, with disciplinary and policy-making powers was set-up. Comrade Stiler of Akron was elected Regional Secretary of the committee whose jurisdiction is to extend over the state of Ohio.

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